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ABSTRACT

This collection of papers addresses improvement of programs for the growing numbers of limited English proficient children in America. Included are: (1) "Improving Conditions for Success in Bilingual Education Programs," (2) "The Role of English as a Second Language in Bilingual Education," (3) "The Role of Research in Policy Decisions about Bilingual Education," (4) "Teacher Preparation for Bilingual Education," (5) "Issues in Estimates of the Number of Limited English Proficient students," (6) "Academic Achievement of Language Minority Children," (7) "Effective Teachers for Language Minority Students, National Needs," (8) "Parental Involvement in Bilingual Education," and (9) "Educational Policy and Political Acceptance: The Imposition of English as the Language of Instruction in American Schools." Despite the controversy, the particular language of instruction makes little or no difference; the opportunities that are thought available to the ethnic group by members of the group themselves make the difference. The United States, at both the Federal and State level, has sought to balance the unifying effect of English with the harmonizing benefits of native language retention by consistently favoring English. The government, though, has recently realized that the option of native language instruction should also be made available. The Federal system needs the sense of harmony, cultural equality, and devotion which such an option engenders. (ETS)

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A REPORT

OF THE

COMPENDIUM OF PAPERS ON THE TOPIC OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
99TH CONGRESS, 2D SESSION

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FOREWORD

This committee print is published with the purpose of making important and timely information available for our full committee deliberations on the topic of bilingual education. These papers were solicited by one of my full Committee majority staff members based on certain criteria and these papers were contributed *pro bono publico* by the authors.

This report was not officially adopted by the Committee on Education and Labor or by its Subcommittees and therefore may not necessarily reflect the views of the members thereof.

It is my intent that the ideas presented here stimulate informed debate regarding improvement of programs for this nation's growing numbers of limited-English-proficient children. Approximately twenty years ago I was one of the original sponsors of legislation which sought to improve equal educational opportunities for this group of children. Today, I join with these authors in sustaining that commitment.

I commend this report to my fellow Members of Congress and to the public and urge all of us to take action on the issues raised in this report.

AUGUSTUS F. HAWKINS,
Chairman, Committee on
Education and Labor.

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IMPROVING CONDITIONS FOR SUCCESS IN BILINGUAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS

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Ever since the 1977 national evaluation of Title VII-funded bilingual education programs (Danoff 1978) demonstrated that the majority of these programs were having little or no significant effect on student achievement, opponents of bilingual education have tended to fixate on the negative aspects of such evaluations while proponents have either cavalierly ignored the findings or have argued that alternative criteria for success should be considered. To be sure, the 1977 evaluation was severely criticized for its flawed methodology, and a more recent review of research by Baker and de Kanter (1981), which came to negative conclusions regarding the effectiveness of bilingual programs, has been thoroughly refuted by the painstaking reanalysis of the data by Willig (1985). Nevertheless, in-depth case studies of specific programs have done more to document their inadequacies than their successes. What are we to make of this, and what are the implications of these and other findings for local program implementation and for Congressional policy?

First of all, it is necessary to consider the criteria being used to define "success". We shall here adopt the common-sense view that the success of a program is to be gauged by the extent to which it has reduced or eliminated inequalities of achievement between native English speaking students and limited English proficient (LEP) students as measured in English and, for the latter, in their native language, by the end of six years after they entered the program. Too often, state and federal policies encourage or even require "success" to be defined in terms of the rate at which students are "exited" from bilingual classes and placed in regular all-English classes, usually within one to three years. And unfortunately, too frequently the sole criterion for graduating students from a bilingual program has been their apparent ability in English.

A definition of success based on short-term assessment of students, and on an evaluation of English skills only, perpetuates several fallacies regarding the educational needs of LEP students. First of all, it ignores clear research evidence that adequate competence for academic learning in a second language may require up to five to six years to achieve. Secondly, it simplistically assumes that the only purpose of bilingual education is to teach English, and omits the more important issue of students' need for learning of educational content. Such a definition of success treats bilingual education as purely a form of remedial education, intended to overcome what is seen only as a "handicap", and fails to recognize the significance and value of academic knowledge and skills acquired through the native language. It thus contradicts the basic premises of bilingual education, and is antithetical to the goal of equal educational opportunity for language minority children.

The research evidence has been summarized by Troike (1978, 1981) and Cummins (1981), and shows clearly that the following conditions are necessary for a bilingual program to successfully achieve the goal of providing equal educational opportunity:

1) Emphasis must be given to the development of native language skills, including reading, and the overall amount of English used should not exceed fifty percent;

2) Teachers must be trained and able to teach fluently in the language of the students;

3) The program should extend over at least five grades, and preferably more;

4) The program must be integrated into the basic structure of the school administration and curriculum, and a supportive environment must exist;

5) Materials of comparable quality to those used in English should be available;

6) There should be support from the community and parents.

7) High standards for student achievement should be set and every effort made to maintain them.

The hard fact is that after nearly 20 years of Title VII, probably the majority of bilingual programs remain unsuccessful in terms of the criterion for success adopted here, or else are realizing less than their full potential. The reasons for this situation are varied, but most are related to a failure to meet one or more of these conditions.

The most pervasive shortcoming, strongly abetted in many cases by state legislation, and by the recent (1984) revision of the Bilingual Education Act, is the lack of native language use in programs, and the corresponding overemphasis on English. In stark contrast to the uninformed claims made in the press and by some public figures, a detailed study of bilingual classrooms in California showed that students' native language was being used on an average of only 8% of the time, with some students receiving no instruction in their native language at all (Garcia, 1985). Another national study of six sites (Fisher et al 1981) showed that 72% of the time, fifty percent or more of English was being used, and 47% of the time, only English was being used. Thus, many bilingual education classrooms are actually "bilingual" in name only. The recent effort by the Administration to allow greater "flexibility" in the use of Title VII funds would merely serve to ratify what is already the status quo in many cases, and can only induce further deterioration in the situation.

The reasons for this low native language use — or even non-use -- in (so-called) bilingual programs are not hard to determine, just as it is not hard to demonstrate the critical importance of greater native language use. Low use can be attributed to a variety of factors:

a) Lack of confidence on the part of teachers and program administrators in the value and significance of native language use, reflecting prior negative educational and other experiences.

b) Lack of confidence on the part of program staff in their own competence in the language, resulting from their having been educated entirely in English.

c) Lack of actual competence in the native language for use in educational contexts, resulting from inadequate training.

d) A negative administrative or social attitude in the school toward the native language, which stigmatizes or directly inhibits its use.

e) Lack of adequate materials in the native language.

f) Perceptions of the program as purely compensatory.

g) Program goals which emphasize rapid transition to all-English instruction, and attach no value to the native language.

h) Use of assessment instruments and procedures which recognize achievement only in English.

Any or all or a combination of these factors could be at work in any given program, and one may influence the others. For example, in a program which aims to move students into regular all-English classes as quickly as possible, staff are likely to minimize their use of the native language and emphasize the use of English. Similarly, in a school such as one in South Texas in which the principal had posted a sign in the teacher's lounge discouraging the use of Spanish, the negative climate might well inhibit the staff from speaking the native language.

Probably the most common reasons lie in the lack of self-confidence or competence in the use of the language for educational purposes on the part of program staff (a-c above). Many teachers in bilingual programs, if they have grown up as language minority members in this country, have been discouraged, punished, or ridiculed for speaking their language in school (it is, after all, only a few years now since many states repealed laws prohibiting the use of languages other than English for instructional purposes), and have a deeply-instilled inferiority complex about using the language in settings where English is ordinarily employed. Thus they may have a profound lack of confidence in the efficacy or desirability of using the language in school, no matter what the program goals may be.

Secondly, and closely related, is the fact that without considerable training and practice, it is not easy to use a language confidently, even a native language, in a new domain in which all previous learning and experience has been in another language. This is why teacher proficiency in all curriculum areas in both English and the native language of students was emphasized in the Guidelines for Preparation and Certification of Teachers of Bilingual-Bicultural Education developed by a group of leading experts convened by the Center for Applied Linguistics in 1974. Taken altogether, the pressures on teachers to lapse into English in the classroom are enormous, and the fact that many succumb has now been documented.

These findings ironically come at a time when there is growing evidence that for linguistic minorities, <u>increased use of the native language in the classroom results in higher academic achievement as measured in English, and in better English language skills.</u> The extreme, in a sense, is found in cases where <u>NO</u> English has been used for the first two years of schooling, and where children educated under such a program have performed above

comparable children who began their schooling in English. Such a situation, for example, is found among recent immigrants to the U.S. who have had two years of schooling in Mexico prior to entry (Gonzalez 1985), and is paralleled in studies on Finnish immigrant children in Sweden (Skutnabb-Kangas 1979).

This finding was first encountered in a GAO study of Title VII programs in 1976, where it was shown that achievement test scores in English positively correlated with the amount of time spent using the native language in the classroom. While seemingly counterintuitive, this correlation is predictable from the basic premise of bilingual education that students will be able to learn through the medium of their native language and transfer this learning to the second language as they acquire it. Thus, the more fully that content knowledge and skills are developed in the native language, the faster and more effectively they can be transferred into the second language (English).

This observation indicates that the best bilingual program might well be one in which no English at all was used for the first two years, while students were developing a solid base of knowledge and skills through and in their native language. So far as is known, though, no such programs have been implemented for linguistic minorities in this country. However, another condition for success given above, which may help achieve the same effect, is the continuation of the program over at least five grades, which gives students adequate opportunity to develop what Cummins (1981) has called "cognitive academic language proficiency" in their native language. Troike (1978) surveyed a number of successful bilingual programs in the U.S. in order to determine what characteristics they had in common which might be responsible for their success. One of the most evident characteristics was that they all continued through the sixth grade (and some further), and gave ample attention to the development of native language skills, usually devoting at least 40% of the time in the upper grades to instruction in and through the native language.

A particularly interesting finding in those cases where data were available, was that the effects of the bilingual instruction did not begin to become clearly evident until the fifth or sixth grade, at which point in several of these schools -- for the first time in the history of their communities -- language minority students reached or exceeded national norms on standardized tests in English and mathematics. Since the vast majority of

Title VII and state-funded programs do not extend past the third grade, they miss the opportunity for the maximum benefits of bilingual instruction to be felt. Certainly in view of this research evidence, recent efforts by the Administration and certain members of Congress to limit the time of students in Title VII programs, and to emphasize instruction in English, would appear to be dysfunctional and counterproductive.

Several different explanations have been proposed for the successful effects of extended bilingual education, or of prior education in another country, and probably all are involved to one extent or another in most of the cases. Cummins (1979), drawing on the earlier work of the Finnish researchers Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa (1976), has proposed a "language interdependence hypothesis", which predicts that the development of higher-level cognitive abilities in a second language is dependent upon the attainment of a "threshold level" of ability in the first language. Serna (1986) has recently verified this prediction in a carefully-controlled study of Navajo children. Lambert (1975) has also found that language minority children who do not reach this threshold level in their native language frequently begin to lose the ability they have as they acquire their second language, producing what he has called "subtractive bilingualism".

Ogbu (1974) and Troike (1984), drawing in part on the work of Dworkin (1971), have independently argued that the subordinated social status of the language minority group and the stigmatization imposed upon it (and its traditional language) by the majority group have a strong effect in inhibiting the academic achievement of members of the group, in part separately from any language factor per se, (although language may play a strong symbolic role in relation to group identity and self-image). Thus Maori children in New Zealand, who are from a subordinated minority in the society, come to school already speaking English, but are surpassed in school achievement by the third grade by children from Samoa, who know little or no English when they begin school but who are not from a subordinated group (Clay, 1970). Similarly, Mexican children entering the U.S. who have had several years of schooling in Mexico have been able to develop their linguistic and cognitive skills uninhibited by having their group identity, language, and self-image subjected to negative social pressures. Part of the effects of bilingual education, therefore, may be due to the public validation which it symbolically gives to

the child's language, and hence to himself and his group, creating a more positive affective environment for learning.

One of the handicaps under which many Title VII and other bilingual programs operate is their treatment by the school administration as peripheral to the central curriculum and organization of the system. This situation arises from several causes, among them being a perceived temporariness about federally funded programs, which are expected to expire upon the cessation of government support. At times, as with such other programs, school officials have chosen to apply for a grant merely as a way to supplement the regular school budget, but with no interest in or commitment to the program. Money, rather than concern for students, thus may come to form the primary motivation for the existence of a program.

Seen as both temporary and remedial at best, programs are often physically housed in separate locations, such as transportable classrooms or unused former school buildings. In some cases, the bilingual program may actually be opposed by the administration, but its presence may be tolerated only because of the money which it brings in. In other cases, it may be seen simply as a convenient way to help achieve school desegregation. In either event, the program may be "quarantined" or "ghettoized" in separate facilities as a matter of intent, to facilitate its eventual excision.

The isolation of the program, together with the special funding and sometimes higher salaries enjoyed by its staff, may generate misunderstanding and hostility on the part of other staff (as documented by Pung-Guthrie 1985, for example). Some program directors, perhaps failing to recognize that their apparent autonomy actually reflected lack of concern on the part of the school system for the educational welfare of their students, have been coopted into supporting such segregated arrangements without realizing the symbolic message communicated to the system and to the program staff -- and ultimately to the students -- as to the peripheral and ephemeral nature of the program.

By contrast, successful programs are more likely to be housed centrally, and closely integrated structurally and functionally within the total system. In addition, they receive strong support from the central administration and from building principals (whose support may be even more crucial than that of the central administration in establishing a positive climate for the program). In schools with successful programs, the administration does not

regard bilingual education as remedial or as merely a temporary expedient. Rather, it makes a commitment to the goal of providing equal educational opportunity for the limited English proficient student beyond the end of external funding, by ensuring that the bilingual program is an integral part of the basic program in the system. It also devotes attention and resources to promoting acceptance of the program among the community and other school staff by informing them of its methods and results. In addition, it supports acceptance of the bilingual program staff as part of the regular staff by insisting on comparable standards of certification and competence and by facilitating interaction among them.

Where possible, the school administration also permits native English-speaking students (not merely members of the same ethnic group as the limited English students) to participate in the bilingual program by providing opportunities for them to learn the other language, until they are able to follow instruction in that language along with the native-speaking students. Such an arrangement gives all students access to the widely-demonstrated cognitive benefits of bilingualism (Peal and Lambert 1962; Hakuta 1985), resolves potential problems of segregation, and enhances cross-cultural respect and understanding. It also permits effective articulation with the foreign language program in the school, and results in a much higher level of foreign language competence (current research now stresses that a second language is learned best when it is not taught as an object in itself, but rather for purposes of meaningful learning and communication). A bilingual program, therefore, provides the best possible context, short of living in another country, for English-speaking students to acquire proficiency in another language.

The issue of obtaining comparable materials in the other language is a difficult and vexing one, since suitable materials are rarely available. Where the students' language is not an American Indian or Alaskan or Pacific Island Native one, materials may be available from other countries, but cultural, ideological, or curricular differences (e.g., strong religious or nationalistic content, or different skills sequencing) may make them inappropriate. Still, even where useful materials exist (as from Latin America for Spanish), schools are rarely aware of them and there is no readily accessible source of information. Teachers frequently devote enormous amounts

of personal time to attempting to fill the gap, often with quite good results, but these must usually be duplicated on a mimeograph, photocopier, or spirit duplicator, and lack the finished appearance of a regular book -- a fact which unavoidably affects students' perceptions of the relative status of their language versus English.

The massive, and highly laudable, legislative effort to fill this need through Title VII support for materials development centers regrettably proved largely a failure, primarily because of the lack of publishing experience on the part of those operating the centers, and the isolation of the centers from the needs of the classroom market. Since a critical need still remains, future funding should be directed toward creating a partnership with the private sector, whereby textbook publishers would be encouraged and enabled to develop appropriate materials for markets which are ordinarily considered too small to be commercially feasible. In addition, greater efforts should be made to make schools aware of available materials from other countries.

Considerable evidence in recent years has shown that achievement levels in a school can sometimes be raised, even dramatically, by raising the level of expectation and demand from students, and increasing motivation, discipline, and parental support and cooperation. Examples which come to mind are the school taught by Marva Collins in Chicago, or the school in San Francisco which went from the lowest to the highest rank in the city by raising academic and disciplinary standards, or even a school in Florida in which student performance was raised by the principal's refusing to shave until grade averages reached a higher level. Bilingual programs are no different from other programs in this respect: if they are conceived as remedial palliatives, with institutionalized low levels of expectations and demands on the students, students will perform accordingly. On the other hand, successful programs have shown that truly bilingually-educated children can attain or exceed national norms of achievement in English, while at the same time achieving literacy and academic competence in their native language. To repeat the conclusion of Troike (1978),

> a quality bilingual education program can be effective in meeting the goals of equal educational opportunity for minority language children, and if a program is not doing so, something is wrong with the program (though the locus of the problem may be external to the program itself).

Teacher quality and training combined with high administrative standards can also make a difference in student achievement, even in non-bilingual programs, as shown in the English as a second language program in Fairfax County, Va. While this program had the advantage of having teachers who spoke many of the languages of the students and had been aides in the earlier bilingual program, its unique characteristic was that all of the teachers were required to have specialist training in reading methods, according to its director, Esther Eisenhauer, who also indicated that she maintained very tight administrative control over the program, and insisted on high standards of performance. She pointed out, however (personal communication), that another school district which tried to adopt the same program but did not include the same required teacher qualifications and degree of control was not successful in its program.

Many of the problems in Title VII programs from the beginning have stemmed from the ways in which they have been funded and administered at the federal level, and the constraints under which they have been administered. From the time the original legislation was signed into law, Title VII has been at best only reluctantly accepted, and often actively opposed, by the administrative branch, irrespective of political party or president. One Commissioner of Education described it as a "can of worms" in refusing to allow a presidential commission on foreign language and international studies to discuss bilingual education, thus demonstrating that it was viewed as a political sop to minority interests rather than as a serious educational enterprise (such as foreign language education). This is particularly ironic, inasmuch as the movement for bilingual education was started primarily by foreign language educators and linguists, with little grass-roots support at the outset among the language minorities affected.

Title VII was originally conceived as a demonstration program, intended to support exploration of the best ways to meet the educational needs of limited English speakers, but it soon acquired the growth characteristics of a service or entitlement program. Although it has never covered more than 10% of the total number of limited English proficient students in the country, by the end of the 1970s serious discussion was being given to the cost of extending it to an entitlement program, like Chapter (Title) I, but this was ultimately rejected as too expensive.

In keeping with the demonstration intent of the legislation, all programs were required to have an evaluation, a provision which gave rise to a small cottage industry but did little to advance the state of the art. Most evaluations were inadequate, and no quality control on them was exercised from Washington. The intended purpose of requiring evaluations was to guide re-funding, and to contribute to the improvement of the programs and of the state of knowledge generally. However, funding for programs (and hence their numbers) grew so rapidly, without a corresponding increase in the budget for positions in the Title VII office, that the staff had little time to examine the evaluations, and were also prevented by lack of travel funds from visiting the programs. As a result, programs were re-funded without serious review of their performance, and it is a minor scandal that in 1975, all of the files of evaluations accumulated since 1969 were discarded.

By the mid-1970s, according to the then-director of the Office of Bilingual Education, even mediocre programs were knowingly being funded, in the hope that they might improve. Program funds have traditionally been stretched to cover the maximum number of projects (in order to broaden the constituency of the office) by cutting back individual project budgets, sometimes to the point of compromising quality. Thus the goal envisioned in the original legislation, of arriving at better means of meeting the educational needs of limited English speaking students, has never been realized.

The concept of truly experimental demonstration programs continues to be a viable one, and such programs are still urgently needed. A small number of carefully selected demonstration projects should be established with long-range funding, each with a university-based group of researchers and consultants to guide and monitor it, and linked to the Center for Language Education and Research at UCLA. The Title VII information network should be activated to disseminate information from these projects to other Title VII and state-funded programs, so that the benefit of the experience and knowledge gained can contribute to the success of bilingual education nationwide. The demonstration projects themselves should exchange observers, and eventually should become sites for observation and training for staff from other programs.

The 1978 Title VII legislation provided "incentive funding" for programs, by requiring that school districts had to progressively assume the cost of a program over a five-year period, in order to encourage the institutionalization of the program after the end of the grant period. However, recent indications are that schools typically eliminate the position of program coordinator when external funds are no longer available, and that without a coordinator, teachers begin to lose direction and the program -- even a successful program -- gradually deteriorates. It is important, therefore, that funding provisions be arranged to allow continued Title VII support for a program coordinator beyond the original five years, again on the basis of progressive assumption of the cost by the school.

The provision for "family literacy programs" included in the 1984 Bilingual Education Act was originally intended to be bilingual in scope, but instead was limited only to English. The concept was based on the growing recognition of the importance of literacy activities in the home in supporting children's development of reading skills. Since the parents of limited English proficient children are often even less proficient in English than their children, and likewise often have weak or nonexistent literacy skills in their own language, they are not able to provide much assistance or support to their children at home. If their native language literacy skills could be developed along with those of their children, they would be able to be more supportive of their children's native language development, and at the same time would have a better basis for their own acquisition of English literacy skills. Above all, limited English proficient parents should be strongly discouraged from trying to use English with their children at home, as this can have disastrous effects on the children's linguistic and academic development. Instead, they should concentrate on trying to provide as rich a native language development environment as possible.

To summarize, the widespread lack of success found among bilingual programs nationally can probably be attributed primarily to overemphasis on the use of English and underuse of students' native language. This situation, in turn, can be attributed to the transitional character of the overwhelming majority of programs, which discourages the use of the native language, and to the lack of confidence on the part of staff in the true value of that language, or of their own competence in it. In addition, the perception of

bilingual programs as compensatory and temporary, and their frequent isolation from the rest of the school program, undoubtedly contributes to their lack of success.

In spite of growing research pointing to the importance of more native language use in bilingual education, and the value of longer-term programs (5 to 6 years minimally), recent Congressional and Administration moves have been in the direction of encouraging even greater English use and emphasizing the short-term transitional nature of programs. Such moves totally ignore the evidence of research by adopting a simplistic view of student needs, and can only doom bilingual programs to even greater failure to provide equal educational opportunity. When such results eventuate, it will be said that bilingual education has failed, or that such students are incapable of learning, rather than that it is transitional English programs falsely called "bilingual" which have failed.

To prevent such a consequence, it is urgent that present trends be reversed, and that greater emphasis be given to increased use and development of native languages as a basis for the development of academic abilities in English. At the same time, the potential cognitive benefits of bilingualism for all students should be recognized, and efforts made to articulate bilingual programs with foreign language education programs. In addition, carefully controlled experimental demonstration programs linked to universities and the Center for Language Education and Research should be established to study the effects of different instructional and contextual conditions on student learning. The information gained thereby should be shared nationally with other programs, to help them achieve greater success in providing equal educational opportunity for language minority students.

Recommendations for Congressional action

1. Clarify the distinction between a) bilingual education and b) other programs for students from non-English language backgrounds; specify that Title VII funds are to be directed solely to bilingual programs, while other funding sources (e.g., Chapter I; Title IV, CRA) are to be used for both bilingual and other programs, and earmarked for such purpose, if necessary. Additionally, earmark 10% of Indian Education Act funds for bilingual programs.

2. Establish a minimum level of native language use at 40% for proposals qualifying for Title VII support.

3. Create a category of experimental demonstration programs with long-term funding linked with universities as discussed above.

4. Allocate funds for non-demonstration bilingual programs directly to states on a pro-rata basis based on the number of projects approved, and provide administrative funds to states to monitor, evaluate, and give technical assistance to projects.

5. Continue to limit regular funded projects to 3 years and require progressive assumption of costs by grantee, but permit an additional 3 years of funding for a program coordinator, with progressive assumption of costs.

6. Combine the present multifunctional support centers into a single national technical assistance center to work directly with states, and merge the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education with it (or alternatively, merge NCBE with the Center for Language Education and Research at UCLA.)

7. Continue to support a smaller number of doctoral fellowship programs at high quality institutions to prepare needed leaders and researchers in the field, and continue to support graduate-level teacher training programs to improve the quality of instruction and help meet the growing need for teachers.

8. Contract with established textbook publishing firms to develop, publish, and disseminate curriculum materials in various languages.

9. Assign research funds to NIE or its successor to administer, with the requirement that at least 50% be devoted to field-initiated research, in order to encourage new ideas and overcome the limitations of managed research.

10. Restructure offices within the Department of Education to bring foreign language education and bilingual education into closer relationship and encourage more cooperation.

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THE ROLE OF ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE IN BILINGUAL EDUCATION

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There is massive evidence to demonstrate the importance of English as a medium of communication in the modern world. By any criterion, it is the world's most widely used language today, whether as a native language (ENL), as a second language (ESL), or as a foreign language (EFL). It is difficult to find a single nation that is not in one way or another involved in using English. As our British colleague Peter Strevens has pointed out:

> . . . English is used by some people, for some purposes, in every country on earth: it is used by a total of some 675 million people: of those millions, less than half speak it as their mother tongue; consequently English is used more by those for whom it is a foreign language than by native speakers of English; English is the vehicle of the second industrial and technological revolution; it is predominantly the language of international aid and administration, of UNESCO and WHO and FAO and ICAO, and of regional groupings in many parts of the world; of the 'media' industries--news, journalism, radio, film and television--which are disseminated chiefly in and through English; it is the language of international pop music and of the global entertainment industry; similarly, the great multi-national corporations advertise and market their products overwhelmingly in English. . .[1]

More recently, Professor David Crystal (English Today January 1985, 1st issue) has said:

> . . . If you are highly conscious of international standards, or wish to keep the figures for world English down, you will opt for a total of around 700 million, in the mid-1980s. If you go to the opposite extreme, and allow in any systematic awareness, whether in speaking, listening, reading, or writing, you could easily persuade yourself of the reasonableness of 2 billions. I am happy to settle for a billion.[2]

The teaching of English is, therefore, a major professional undertaking. It must, however, be emphasized at the outset that the teaching of English to native speakers (TNL) is different from teaching it to speakers of other languages (TESOL). Further, within TESOL a distinction is made between two acronyms: TEFL, teaching English as a foreign language, and

TESL, teaching English as a second language. Marckwardt first called attention to the distinction the British have traditionally made between TEFL and TESL. In the case of TEFL, literary and cultural goals predominate and use of the language as an active communicative tool is minimized. In TESL, on the other hand, the primary goal of instruction is the achievement of a high level of communicative competence in English, sometimes developed to a point of balanced bilingualism or, not infrequently, English dominance over the native language.

In American usage generally, TEFL has to do with the teaching of English overseas and to foreign nationals in the United States who are more or less temporary residents, adult foreign students at American universities, visitors, diplomats, etc., in international programs. TESL, on the other hand, has to do with teaching English to non-native speakers who are American citizens, or permanent residents of the United States, usually children in elementary and secondary schools, in domestic programs.

American usage has moved historically from TEFL to TESL to TESOL. TESOL has the advantage of encompassing both earlier terms; it reflects the development of the profession from one whose major concern was foreign students to one whose primary focus is domestic learners of English who cannot accurately all be described as foreigners.

It is important to know that teaching English as a second language has been an educational activity in the United States for over 300 years. Its first "students" were the American Indians, and one may note the ironic coincidence that one of the profession's most important concerns remains the teaching of English to American Indians. The coincidence is made more remarkable when one realizes that the early anthropological linguists, such as Boas, Sapir, and Bloomfield, based their linguistic theories on studies of the American Indian languages. These linguists collected and analyzed samples of speech and formulated hypotheses on language from the analyses. The

methods and findings they derived were eventually extended to the study of the more commonly known languages, including English. Thus, English-teaching methodology profited greatly from linguistic science, a twentieth-century outgrowth of the study of American Indian languages.

However, teaching English as a second language in the United States by no means implies a homogeneous context of language instruction. A short glance at the following statistics reveals the diversity of the situation and its importance to the programs of language teaching in our country.

1) There are an estimated 28 million persons (1 in 8) in the United States whose native language is not English.

2) 10.6 million have a Spanish language background (the United States has the 5th largest Spanish-speaking population in the world).

3) Over 5 million of the non-native English speakers are of school age, between the ages of 6 and 19. (i.e. over 10% of persons in this age group).

4) There are an estimated 2.4 million persons in the United States who do not speak English at all.

5) Further, contrary to general belief, most of these persons (2 out of 3, or 18.5 million) are not foreign but native born.

These are statistics from 1976. One must add to these figures the number of immigrants, refugees, and those termed by some "undocumented aliens," who have been arriving in a steady flow since then. According to recent findings, a flood of immigrants is bringing well over 1 million newcomers a year into the United States--the highest level since the mass migration of Europeans at the turn of the century, when my parents came to the U.S. By some estimates, El Salvador alone has generated as many as 500,000 U.S.-bound refugees since 1980. America today is accepting twice as many immigrants as all other nations combined.[3]

This cultural dynamism has created many contexts of ESL teaching in the United States, each requiring a different program of language instruction tailored to the specific needs and goals of the learners. Among the most important programs of ESL teaching at the present time is the one implemented in the context of Bilingual Education.

Bilingual Education is based on the recognition that a person living in a society whose language and culture differ from his own must be equipped to participate meaningfully in the mainstream of that society. The key to this lies in developing that person's language proficiency. Thus the most commonly accepted definition of bilingual education in the United States is the use of two languages, one of which is English, as mediums of instruction for the same pupil population in a well-organized program which encompasses all or part of the curriculum and includes the study of the history and culture associated with the mother tongue. A complete program develops and maintains the children's self-esteem and a legitimate pride in both cultures. Bilingual education recognizes that many students in the school system are monolingual or dominant in a language other than English and may be at different stages of development in each of the two languages. It therefore provides a process whereby the linguistic and cultural resources the student brings to the school are used as tools for learning in the content areas while at the same time he acquires sufficient proficiency in English to enable him to use it as a learning tool.

It is important to emphasize that, in this context, language study is not merely an effort to acquire certain skills. Rather, it is an attempt to break the shackles of monolingualism and bring about mutual respect and understanding among people of diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds. As far back as 1955, Charles C. Fries wrote "The fundamental purpose. . . of language teaching is to achieve an understanding, as complete as possible, between people of different linguistic backgrounds."[4]

Further, he said, ". . . to deal with the culture and life of a people is not just an adjunct . . . but an essential feature at every stage of language learning."[5]

Thus nothing less than our survival as a great nation demands that we, as committed educators, should use our most powerful weapon--language--as effectively as we can in the way of helping create genuine communication and communion, between native English speakers and our non-English speaking minorities. For this purpose, we advocate a bilingual education program that ensures full mastery of English as an essential aspect of American citizenship.

But why not, it is fair to ask, use English as the exclusive language of instruction? The question has been dealt with by many researchers and practitioners who provide some answers: It has been established that language minority children can learn English and still fall behind in the basic subjects, such as mathematics, science, and social studies. Instruction in these content areas is essential to these children's success, and native-language instruction is the key which can open this opportunity for them while they proceed with the business of learning English. If schools were to postpone teaching the content subjects while they teach only English, not only would many children fall behind their classmates in their other work, but they would also become over-aged for their classes. The frustration resulting from this might well force many children to drop out of school. Bilingual education is an effective attempt to prevent such a disaster. Of course, it is also true that content matter can be presented in a properly developed ESL program. But as I will explain later, the crux of the matter is well-educated teachers, i.e. ESL and bilingual education teachers who have achieved anthropological-linguistic sophistication of the kind described in 1) the TESOL Guidelines, 2) the TESOL position paper on the role of ESL in Bilingual Education, and 3) A Memo: Educating Children with Limited English. (These

documents are available from Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL), 1118 22nd St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037).

Culturally, we have reasons to believe that native-language instruction strengthens the child's sense of cultural identity, helping him to develop the feeling of security and self-esteem which is so badly needed for survival and for success in our highly competitive society. It is our mission, as committed language educators, to enable the national-origin minority child to reach his full potential as an American citizen. But how can he feel secure and play a positive role in the social and economic settings of American society if the cultural base from which he must begin remains shaky and if he fails to recognize the value of his own parent culture? It is here that the other inseparable arm of bilingual education, that is, native language instruction, can and must be effectively used to help.

I would like to stress the maintenance of the mother tongue in order to assure criticism of linguistic diversity that, as language educators, we recognize the dual language and dual cultural basis of bilingualism. It is important to emphasize this point to make sure that the English-teaching profession is not suspected of linguistic imperialism and cultural aggressiveness, a charge which has often been levelled at anyone who argues for the importance of instruction in English within Bilingual Education programs. These accusations are levelled by people who misunderstand the intentions of TESOL professionals, by people who believe that instruction in English is meant to take the place of the student's mother tongue.

I would like to emphasize that we believe, as B.J. Robinett has explained, in an "additive" rather than a "replacive" philosophy when we teach standard English as a second language or second dialect.[6] That is, we attempt to add a new language to a student's repertoire rather than eradicate or replace the

language which he already possesses. And we hope to impart to our students the ability to switch codes instinctively, so as to use that language (or that dialect) which is most appropriate and which evokes the greatest amount of cooperation and least amount of resistance--indeed, even hostility--in a given situation. Thus the kind of bilingualism to which we subscribe entails an attitude toward language which is human, humane, and humanistic.

The moral implications of such an attitude are clear: Bilingual Education, as we view it, implies the rejection of the notion that non-English-speaking children are culturally disadvantaged. Indeed, we English-educators have specifically rejected the theory that these children are victims of inferior culture, or inferior socialization by inadequate parents, or a stifling of cognitive stimulation in the preschool years, or an inferior intellectual endowment. We have opposed the isolation of these children in special classes for the socially and emotionally disturbed. We have insisted that ESOL is not synonymous with "remedial English" or "remedial reading," but consists of a highly specialized form of English instruction. It is unfortunate to refer to these and Bilingual Education programs as compensatory. They are enrichment programs.

Of course, we consider it our moral obligation to teach our language-minority groups English as well as to enable them to retain their mother tongue. Whatever else we do, we must teach them English--otherwise we are engaging in an insidious kind of veiled discrimination which discourages young national-origin minority students from investing in education. And we must teach them English in the most effective, most efficient way possible.

Bilingualism gives cause for a special feeling of national pride in that it is an expression of loyalty to an ideal which we as Americans and leaders of the democratic world value most. Ours is a free and egalitarian society in which such factors as ethnic origin and parental socioeconomic status should

in no way be allowed to deprive any child of the equal opportunity to realize his full potential as an individual human being. To penalize language-minority children by imposing upon them the stigma of limited education because of their cultural differences would be an affront to the most important of our values as a democratic nation. To give an example, it is estimated that there are between three to six million children of "undocumented" aliens throughout the United States, the majority of whom are Hispanic. Available data indicate that only 42 percent of Hispanics 25 years old and over have completed high school, as compared to 70.3 percent of the non-Hispanic population. This under-education obviously affects the employment and earning potential of Hispanics, making them subject to a lifetime of hardship and suffering. If the children of "undocumented" aliens are, for lack of federal aid, deprived of education, this picture will become even more damaging to our dignity and to our image as a prosperous nation. The bilingual education program has a special significance because it reveals our efforts to measure up to the requirements of a democratic society by trying to improve the living conditions of our minorities and to establish an equality of existence for all our citizens.

To succeed in our humanistic mission, it is of the utmost importance to keep always in mind that bilingual education is a creation of, by and for people, and it is the people involved, most particularly the teachers, who must account for a program's success or failure. Implementation of programs requires educated (not trained, but educated) and dedicated teachers. Education here implies not only a certain technical expertise, but also the human values of understanding and consideration of the cultural differences which are implicit in a multinational/ multicultural classroom.

Let me illustrate what is at issue with some examples taken from the Manual for Indochinese Refugee Education, a publication distributed by the staff of the National Indochinese Clearinghouse at the Center for Applied Linguistics. The Manual explains, for example, that Vietnamese parents place a strong emphasis on 'book learning' and often hope their children will go on to university studies. In the classroom, however, the children display a 'passive' approach: that is, conditioned by a sense of respect for their elders, they are reticent to ask questions or to request help from the teacher. This general unfamiliarity with American classroom behavior, compounded by difficulties with the language, can lead teachers to conclude that a child is incapable of doing the work. A tragic and extreme instance of this failure in the classroom was the case of a Laotion boy who was a senior honor student in his home country. Six months later in Washington, D.C., he found himself the recipient of 3 successive warning notices in biology. The issues at stake were his inability to speak English and the teacher's failure to recognize the true source of the problem.

It is also revealing to refer in this context to a story once told by Ben Franklin. After signing the Treaty of Lancaster between the Government of Virginia and six Indian nations, the Virginians offered the Indian chiefs the opportunity of sending their sons to Williamsburg College for an education. They assured the chiefs that the sons would be taken care of and would be taught all the knowledge of the white man. The Indian spokesman's response is instructive:

> You, who are wise, must know that people have different ideas about things, and thus you will not take it badly if our ideas about this type of education are not the same as yours. We already have some experience of it. Several of our young men have already been taken into the college of the provinces of the north. They were instructed there in all of your sciences--but when they returned, they were bad runners, they knew nothing of all the ways to live in the forest, they could not stand cold or hunger, they did not know how to build a hut or catch a deer or kill an enemy, and they spoke our language badly, so they

> could not make either good hunters, or warriors or advisers. They were absolutely good for nothing.
>
> However, we are grateful for your offer, even if we must decline it; and to prove our gratitude, if the gentlemen from Virginia wish to send us a dozen of their sons, we will take responsibility for their education, we will teach them all that we know, and we will make them men.[7]

Thus the key element is the teacher. He or she is the heart of the program, the child's lifeline, his intermediary between his parents' world and the world of the school. Teacher education is the heart of the matter. Obviously, the education required of the ESL teacher in such cases goes beyond native competency in the language. It also goes beyond the completion of formal education requirements, whether a B.A. in English Literature or the Certificate from a State Teachers' College, however valuable these may be to the TESOL professional. The education required of ESL teachers is an anthropological, linguistic and cultural sophistication which enables them to respect the linguistic and cultural differences these students bring to the classroom. Such an attitude requires that we refuse to accept models of teacher education which perceive the teacher primarily as a technician. We must promote a model firmly rooted in the humanistic tradition in which the preparation of teachers and supervisors includes a sound liberal education, in addition to academic specialization and professional education. There may, indeed, be a handful of people who would reduce the training of teachers to the development of teaching skills used in a replicative sense. But these people are not the qualified, educated, experienced, and dedicated language experts whom the profession recognizes as leaders in the field. We must insist that to be a qualified member of the language-teaching profession requires a considerable amount of rigorous and highly-specialized preparation. Only truly qualified teachers of ESOL and Bilingual Education who have completed coursework in linguistics, anthropology, sociology, psychology, and methodology--and have thus developed an understanding of the customs and values of

other peoples--can effectively respond to the need for the creation of genuine communication among people of diverse linguistic backgrounds.

Finally, the humanistic philosophy of language teaching as explained above is by its very nature a philosophy of unity and joint efforts. In this connection, it is important to emphasize that the fields of ESOL and Bilingual Education are cooperating and have a vitality and a sense of youthful idealism that distinguish them from other fields. Domestically, it is our abiding belief in equality of educational opportunity--opposition to discrimination--that gives us a special excitement and relevance. Internationally, this belief has its roots in the notion of mutual educational exchange and improved cross-cultural communication leading to social justice and world peace. In this connection I would like to end with a quotation from Mexico Visto Por Sus Niños; these lines were written by a Mexican child in Mexico as Seen by Her Children, a book of Mexican children's art and writing:

> Pido a mi edad, que todos los habitantes del mundo y nuestro Mexico en especial, nos vieramos como verdaderos hermanos, que no existieran discriminaciones entre los pueblos, que no haya guerras entre los paises mas grandes del mundo, porque esto sería una verdadera hecatombe y a la vez el fin del planeta tierra.
>
> I ask everybody in the world and especially the Mexican people to treat one another as true brothers and I wish that discrimination between people would not exist and that there would not be any more wars between the great nations of the world because it would be a real tomb and the end of the planet earth.[8]

Out of the mouths of babes!!

This tells what ESOL and Bilingual Education are all about and dramatizes the ideology that unifies, harmonizes and strengthens us. We must maintain fraternal ties throughout the various segments of the language teaching profession and the public at large, for the ultimate beneficiaries are the millions of children throughout the nation and world who look to us for leadership, protection and understanding.

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2- English Today. January 1985, First Issue, p. 9.

3- All this information is based on the data which appeared in U.S. News and World Report, April 12, 1982, pp. 47-50.

4- Charles C. Fries. "American Linguistics and the Teaching of English," Language Learning VI:1-2 (1955), p. 10.

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7- Quoted by JoAnn Crandall in "Meeting the Language and Cultural Needs of Refugees: A Challenge for the 80's." Paper delivered to Pennsylvania TESOL on May 16, 1981, pp. 20-21.

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THE ROLE OF RESEARCH IN POLICY DECISIONS ABOUT BILINGUAL EDUCATION

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The history of the debate on bilingual education is characterized by inattention to relevant research. Both opponents and advocates of bilingual education have been influenced by popularly held opinions more than by expertise, and have invoked research, if at all, haphazardly, unsystematically, and without the desired throughness or rigor. We therefore welcome this opportunity to bring to Congressional attention the conclusions that can be drawn from research on bilingual education and bilingualism in children for purposes of determining national priorities in bilingual education.

Before starting, we need to point out that when talking about research, we are really referring to a diverse collection of activities. Out of this diversity, it appears to us that one strain of research has dominated the spotlight in the current debate: evaluation research. This type of research has typically compared bilingual education to alternative forms of education, usually some form of submersion education with an ESL (English as a Second Language) component. Critics of bilingual education have used the rather equivocal conclusions from evaluation research to support their point.

Another strain of research, which might be called basic research, has received less emphasis in the debate over bilingual education. Basic research focuses on the linguistic and psychological processes in the development of bilingual children. This research attempts to understand how children learn a second language, how their two languages interact, how language is related to thinking, and how children learn at different rates and develop different styles in their language and cognitive abilities. Basic researchers include psychologists, linguists, anthropologists, and sociologists. In general, they are not

directly tied to the practice of bilingual education, although their research has often been conducted in the context of bilingual education.

We contend that the findings from basic research have been given insufficient consideration in the debate on bilingual education despite the fact that the information produced by basic research is crucial to policy considerations. The importance of basic research is heightened by the fact that there are severe technical and conceptual problems with the evaluation studies that have been carried out; indeed, these problems are so severe that relying on the results of these studies to guide policy-making could be dangerous. In our commentary, we first summarize the problems with existing evaluation research studies and review their conclusions. We then describe the findings from basic research studies as an alternative source of information to policy makers on bilingual education. Finally, we propose some implications for bilingual education policy.

Evaluation Research

Attempts to evaluate the effectiveness of bilingual education programs, such as the often-cited large-scale study by the American Institutes for Research (Danoff et al., 1977a, b, 1978) and the Baker and de Kanter (1981) synthesis of smaller evaluation studies, have been criticized by many researchers (McLaughlin 1985 provides an even-handed and thorough review of the criticisms). These studies generally concluded that bilingual programs are no more effective in promoting English language and other school skills than alternative programs. The alternative programs most often included in the evaluation were 'submersion' programs, in which non-English speaking children are placed in regular, mainstream classrooms, perhaps with a few hours a week of ESL (English as a Second Language) help. The lack of positive evaluation results has led opponents of bilingual education to argue for alternative instructional methods.

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However, the lack of consistent findings in the evaluations, either for or against bilingual education, could result from either of the following states of affairs:

(a) in reality, bilingual education programs are no better than alternative programs, and evaluation research accurately reflects this reality;

(b) in reality, bilingual education programs are better than alternative programs, but the evaluation studies are doing a poor job of measuring this reality;

Policy makers in criticizing bilingual education have assumed circumstance (a) to be true, yet, as shown below, alternative (b) seems more likely. The lack of evidence for differences between the groups under these circumstances is an artifact of poor measurement.

One problem with evaluation research has been the selection of the comparison group against which the bilingual education treatment group is assessed. As Willig (1985) has pointed out, very few studies use the ideal method of "random assignment." In some studies, the comparison group included students who had formerly been in bilingual programs, which made the findings uninterpretable by biasing the results in the direction of the comparison group (since students who have exited from bilingual programs early tend to be the more academically gifted students).

An even more serious problem is the extreme diversity of instructional methodology <u>within</u> programs that have been labelled as bilingual. Recent studies by Wong Fillmore (1985) as well as the recently-released survey of services provided to language minority students conducted by Development Associates, for example, show large variations in instructional practice across bilingual classrooms. Some classrooms in 'bilingual programs' looked very similar to some 'submersion' classrooms. Many 'bilingual' teachers were found to have limited proficiency in the children's native languages. Thus, although the evaluation studies allegedly compared bilingual programs with alternative programs, in fact they only compared programs labeled

'bilingual' with programs labeled 'submersion'. Without actual classroom observation and description of the instructional characteristics of the various programs, we do not really know what was being compared with what. Under these circumstances, any conclusions about the effectiveness of bilingual practice are premature. As Willig (1985) concluded in her review of this literature, "the overwhelming message derived from these data suggests that most research conclusions regarding the effectiveness of bilingual education reflect weaknesses of the research itself rather than effects of the actual programs" (p. 297).

At the same time that we urge caution because of the weaknesses of current evaluation research, we realize that legislators cannot afford to wait for the results of more refined research. We are often asked, given the information that we do have available, where the weight of the evidence falls.

Perhaps most illuminating in this regard is Willig's (1985) re-analysis of the same set of studies that were used in Baker and de Kanter's report. Willig employed a more rigorous method of analysis that systematically took into account the quality of the individual studies; this enabled her to rely more heavily in her conclusions on research of higher quality. She found evidence, contrary to Baker and de Kanter, in favor of bilingual education programs. Most important was her finding that the better the methodology used in the studies the greater was the effect in favor of bilingual programs.

Thus at present, our best informed judgment forces us to conclude that circumstance (b) above is correct, that bilingual education is indeed superior to submersion, that poorly conducted evaluation research has obscured this fact, and that evaluation research conducted with greater rigor would bear out the superiority of bilingual education as an instructional method in many educational contexts. At the same time, we underscore the

importance of making improvements in the quality of research to evaluate bilingual programs in the future.

Basic Research

Although basic research has often been conducted outside the context of the American bilingual education classroom, it has generated conclusions that have a direct bearing on the current policy debate on bilingual education. Here we outline some of the major conclusions. Several comprehensive books on basic research in bilingualism and second language acquisition have appeared in recent years (Cummins 1984; Grosjean 1982; Hakuta 1986; McLaughlin 1984, 1985), and can be referred to for details.

The nature of language proficiency.

People tend to think of language, like intelligence, as a single, simple, unitary capacity, easily measurable by a single test. However, recent research indicates that language is not a unitary skill, but rather a complex configuration of abilities. Most importantly, it seems that language used for conversational purposes is quite different from language used for school learning, and that the former develops earlier than the latter.

In the context of bilingual education, this means that children become conversationally fluent in English before they develop the ability actually to use English in academic situations. Bilingual programs are commonly criticized for keeping students too long, even after their English is 'adequate.' English skill judged as 'adequate' in an informal conversation, or even on a simple test, may not mean that the child's skills are adequate for understanding a teacher's explanation, for reading a textbook, or for writing a composition. Research tells us that conversational adequacy is not the appropriate criterion for mainstreaming students.

We recommend that one major goal of bilingual education should be the development of the full repertoire of linguistic skills in English, in preparation for participation in mainstream classes.

The relationship of the two languages.

A major argument against bilingual education has been that it does not develop English rapidly enough because of its emphasis on the native language. However, the major premise of this argument--that the time spent in the classroom using the native language is wasted or lost--is overwhelmingly rejected by research. First, a strong native language foundation acts as a support in the learning of English, making it easier and faster. Second, most of the learning that goes on in the native language transfers readily to English. This is true for content areas like math, science, and social studies, but also for skills in speaking, reading, and writing. The child who already understands why 'tres por ocho es igual a cuatro por seis' will not need to be taught such number equivalences again in English. Similarly, the child who knows how to write a topic sentence or look up a word in the dictionary in Portuguese or Chinese will have these skills available for use in the English classroom.

The implication of this finding is that time spent working and studying in the native language in bilingual classrooms is not time lost in developing the skills needed for school success. Becoming fluent in a second language does not necessarily mean losing the first language, nor does maintenance of the first language retard the development of the second language.

The relationship of language and general mental functioning.

There exists a persistent belief that for minority children, bilingualism confuses the mind and retards cognitive development. This belief is founded on some early attempts to explain why immigrants from southern and eastern Europe were performing poorly on IQ tests. However, current research shows that there is no such thing as retardation caused by bilingualism; if anything, the development of a second language can have positive effects on thinking skills. The advantage of bilingual children over monolingual children in cognitive flexibility has been shown in a number of different studies, particularly in contexts of

additive bilingualism where the second language is added while the native language is maintained.

These findings suggest that there is no cognitive cost to the development of bilingualism in children, and very possibly bilingualism brings with it the added bonus of the enhancement of children's thinking skills.

The differences between individual children

Research cautions against attempting to formulate policy based on the observation of a limited number of children. There are, to be sure, documented cases of children who rapidly acquire a second language. However, the research shows these children to be the exception rather than the rule. There are tremendous variations across different children in the rate at which they learn the second language, and the process is not as painless as one would want to believe. The variation is due to a multitude of factors, including cultural background, the strength of the native language, home language environment, personality, attitude, and aptitude for learning languages.

Bilingual education programs should have the flexibility to adjust to these large individual and cultural variations. Furthermore, educators should develop the expectation that it is not abnormal for some students to need bilingual instruction for relatively long periods of time, whereas others for whom all the individual and cultural factors support second language learning, may exit from bilingual programs quite quickly.

The optimal age for second language acquisition

Many people believe that only children can learn a second language quickly and easily, and that if children have not mastered the second language by early school years, they never will. This belief has been responsible for a sense of urgency in introducing English to non-English speaking children, and for worries about postponing children's exit from bilingual programs.

However, the belief that children are fast and effortless second language learners has no basis in fact. Teenagers and adults are much more efficient learners than elementary school

children, and 4th to 7th graders are faster than 1st to 3rd graders. Research in Canada has shown that one year of immersion in the second language classroom environment at 7th grade is worth three years' immersion starting at 1st grade. Especially for primary grade children, it is important to realize that second language learning is likely to be a very slow process; but also that it can still be successful if started much later than age 5 or 6.

Bilingual programs should be designed with the expectation that young school age children learn second languages rather slowly, and will need several years of learning before their English is as good as that of children who have been speaking it since birth. Complementarily, it should be recognized that starting to speak English even as late as high school is no barrier to learning to speak it very well.

Literacy

Perhaps the major task of schools is teaching children to read. Although reading scores for American children in general have improved during the last 15 years, the most recent results of the National Assessment of Educational Progress indicate that Hispanic children still lag far behind English-speaking children in reading achievement. Furthermore, the gap widens at higher grades; poor reading skills in late elementary and secondary school children mean that such children are having trouble in all their school subjects, since their ability to comprehend texthooks in science, math, social studies, and other areas is inadequate.

Many factors contribute to children's being good or poor readers, as documented in the recent report of the Commission on Reading, 'Becoming a Nation of Readers'. One source of help to children's reading is the home; homes where children have access to time alone with adults, where literacy is modeled, displayed and valued, and where parents' attitudes emphasize learning and school achievement typically produce children who have little difficulty learning to read. For children whose homes do not

provide this kind of support to literacy, learning to read is a difficult task, and one which can much better be started in the home language--the language the child knows best. These children often don't really know 'what reading is all about'--the nature and purpose of literacy. Such children are at serious risk for failure to learn to read if the problem of reading itself is made more difficult for them by being presented in a language they control poorly. Children whose homes support literacy acquisition will be able to learn to read in a second language with little trouble; children whose homes can offer little support need the help of excellent schools, excellent teachers, and a reading program in the home language. Once the basic principles of reading are mastered in the home language, reading skills transfer quickly and easily to a second language.

Bilingual programs should concentrate on providing literacy skills in the home language, especially for those children whose parents have little education and poor literacy skills. The introduction of reading in English can be safely and efficiently postponed until after reading in the home language has been mastered. Reading achievement in English will be higher, and will be attained in less time, if reading is taught first in the home language.

Social interactional factors in second language acquisition

Obviously, having the opportunity to talk to a native speaker of English can only help in learning English. A criticism often leveled at bilingual programs is that they isolate non-English speaking children from the English speakers who should be their friends, and who should be helping them learn English.

It is not the case, though, that merely playing with other children contributes much to the kind of language skills needed for school success. Young children can play, and have fun, and even 'talk' together with rather little solid knowledge of each other's language. Learning the English language skills needed

for school success requires much more, for most children, than just the ability to find some English-speaking playmates.

Children, like adults, only interact with people they like or admire. If non-English speaking children in mainstream classrooms come from groups that are negatively stereotyped by the English speakers, they will not easily find English speaking playmates. A major factor in giving minority children access to social interactions with English speaking peers is upgrading the status of the minority group in the eyes of the majority. One way to do this is to recognize the value of the minority group's language and culture, for example, by using the language in the school and by hiring teachers and administrators from that ethnic background. A salubrious side effect of bilingual programs has been this kind of upgrading of previously stigmatized languages and cultures, as a result of making them official within the school.

Social interaction with English speakers can contribute to children's learning English. But just putting minority children in mainstream classrooms does not ensure interaction. Submersion in mainstream classrooms is most likely to result in rapid progress in English for children who do not come from negatively stereotyped minority groups, and for children who have strong language, literacy, and school-relevant skills in their native language. Other children need bilingual programs.

Conclusions

Basic research is often dismissed as irrelevant to practical problems. We feel, though, that much information of importance to policy makers in the area of bilingual education has emerged from research motivated by theoretical questions about language and cognition. Some conclusions we would draw based on our knowledge of the research literature are:

- Evaluation research, although of extremely poor quality, suggests that bilingual education is superior to submersion education in many educational contexts.

- One major goal of bilingual education should be the development of the full repertoire of linguistic skills in English, in preparation for participation in mainstream classes.
- Time spent learning in the native language in bilingual education is not time lost in developing English.
- Children can become fluent in a second language without losing the first language, and maintenance of the first language does not retard the development of the second language.
- There is no cognitive cost to the development of bilingualism in children; very possibly bilingualism enhances children's thinking skills.
- Bilingual education programs should have the flexibility of adjusting to the large individual and cultural differences among children. Furthermore, educators should develop the expectation that it is not abnormal for some students to need bilingual instruction for relatively long periods of time.
- Educators should expect that young children will take several years to learn a second language to a level like that of a native speaker. At the same time, they should not have lower expectations of older learners, who can typically learn languages quite quickly, and often end up speaking them just as well as younger learners.
- Particularly for children who on other grounds are at risk for reading failure, reading should be taught in the native language. Reading skills acquired in the native language will transfer readily and quickly to English, and will result in higher ultimate reading achievement in English.
- A major problem for minority group children is that young English speaking children share the negative stereotypes of their parents and the society at large. Any action that upgrades the status of the minority child and his language

contributes to the child's opportunities for friendship with native English speaking children.

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TEACHER PREPARATION FOR BILINGUAL EDUCATION

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0.0 Introduction

Throughout the country the attention to the instructional needs of limited English proficient students is heightened. In particular, school districts and principals are faced with hiring or preparing current teachers with the competencies to reach and teach these students. Unlike five and ten years ago, we are in a much better position to identify the necessary instructional competencies these teachers should demonstrate in order to be effective teachers. There are, however, obstacles to delivering this preparation and professional development. This essay outlines the context of bilingual teacher preparation, alternative approaches to this preparation, and implemenetation issues at the district and state levels.

1.0 The changing national educational picture

1.1 The reform movement

The recent rush of critiques and reforms aimed at improving the public schools of the nation is leaving relatively little outside the scope of its spotlight. Only a few of these studies and reports, however, have paid much attention to the needs of language minority students. When they have paid attention, the reports have gotten stuck in first gear, echoing the fears of the English only movement that the students will not learn English, and recommending, without much concern for its educational soundness, massive doses of English. The instructional implications of such a recommendation are not thought out, leaving much variation in its interpretation by policy makers and school district and state educational agency personnel.

Yet, these national reports and polemics have made a dent in the way we talk about and define teacher preparation. Several different strategies are being pursued throughout the nation to improve the quality of instruction in the public schools. Some of these strategies are:

- raise salaries in order to attract "better prepared teachers"--the "get the brightest" strategy.
- move the education training to undergraduate, and even high school, for longer and earlier preparation--the "get 'em early" strategy.

o add another professional year after the B.A. degree to better train them to teach--the "keep 'em training longer" strategy.

o move away from the colleges and universities for the training and put this responsibility on the school districts--the "get 'em before the colleges do" strategy.

o develop career ladders which distinguish amongst levels of teaching proficiency towards which teachers can aspire and work--the "get 'em professionalized" strategy.

o bring in "content" experts to teach those subjects like math, science, and history--the "let the experts teach" strategy.

These strategies, like most of the reports, focus on structural relationships and not on the content of instruction, nor on the specific expertise needed by the teachers to teach effectively. These recommendations are often not competency based, and so provide little guidance in changing what ought to be done by teacher preparation programs.

1.2 The need for bilingual instruction

Although there seems to be some disagreement over the exact number of students in the nation in need of bilingual instruction, the estimates seem to hover between 3.5 and 5 million students of school age. These students are in need of understandable instruction--instruction in a language which they can understand--and of learning English well. The first goal is often mediated by whether or not there are enough students to make up a self-contained class of the same language background, approximately the same age/grade, and within each others proximity (school or district). The effectiveness of the instruction will depend on the training, preparation and continued development of the instructional staff.

If we begin with understandable instruction in the native language, the student is learning the school curriculum, and socializing to school behavior. At the same time that this instruction is taking place, the student should be learning English, through English language arts and English as a second language instructional techniques, allowing him/her to transfer the knowledge learned through the native language to English language classrooms. The students do not have to learn things twice. The ideal situation would have bilingual teachers guiding this teaching and learning

from initial schooling thru the transition process. (California State Dept. of Education, 1983)

1.3 The need for bilingual teachers and other professionals

The need for bilingual teachers is based on their unique classroom needs, regardless of their numbers nationally. The number of bilingual teachers needed is based on the estimate of limited English proficient students. If we were to calculate the estimate of bilingual teacher need, without regard to specific languages, proximity and age of the students, then we would need between 100,000 and 200,000 bilingual teachers nationally. (see Table 1)

In addition to teachers, there is a need for other educational personnel who are proficient in the non-English language as well as English: home-school coordinators, school psychologists, resource personnel, counselors, special education and gifted program teachers, and others. In 1981, there were approximately 134,000 teachers trained in English as a second language teaching methods, but only 32,000 actually teaching ESL, and only 26,000 teaching through the non-English language. As we can see below, the competencies required of an effective bilingual teacher go beyond the knowledge of ESL methods, but there should be a concern as well for the large number of trained or in-serviced personnel who may not be using their language teaching skills in the classroom.

Table 1

Estimate of Bilingual Teacher Need

	Teacher:Student ratio	
Students in need	1:25	1:35
3.5 million	140,000	100,000
5 million	200,000	142,900

2.0 Alternative approaches to preparation

2.1 The competencies for effective monolingual and bilingual instruction

There are several significant instructional features which make a difference in student learning for monolingual teachers, which have been found to be important for bilingual instruction as well. In addition there are three additional instructional features for effective bilingual instruction.

Those significant instructional features for effective instruction are:

o Use of "active" teaching behaviors, including giving directions clearly, describing tasks accurately, specifying how students will know when the tasks are completed correctly, and presenting new information by using appropriate strategies like explaining, outlining, and demonstrating, keeping students' engagement in instructional tasks by pacing instruction appropriately, by involving students actively, and by expressing expectations for students' successful task completion, monitoring students' progress and providing immediate feedback when necessary.

o Classroom management strategies include mixed ability grouping, and appropriate variety of teaching styles (lectures, small group work, etc.)

The additional significant instructional features for bilingual teachers include:

o Use of both languages for instruction, assuring not only understandable instruction, but a clear and positive environment and status for each language.

o The integration of English language development with academic skills development.

o Understanding and appropriate use of the cultural background and diversity of the students to mediate learning, and classroom management.

These instructional characteristics can be translated into teacher preparation competencies fairly easily. In addition to the content knowledge needed by the teacher, and training in active behaviors, the well prepared bilingual teacher must also be (1) proficient in each language (the non-English language and English), (2) knowledgable in bilingual and second language instructional methodologies (particularly those which integrate non-language subject matter instruction while mediating second language acquisition, otherwise referred to as language based teaching), and (3) familiar with the specific cultural backgrounds of the students he/she is teaching, and appropriate instructional methods for multicultural education.

With the exception of the first competency that distinguishes the effective bilingual teacher from the monolingual one, the other two--bilingual and second language instructional methods, and culture based/multicultural instructional strategies--should be part of the teacher

preparation for all teachers throughout the nation. Much of what takes place in the classroom has been described as a linguistic interaction, and knowledge of and sensitivity to methods which help develop language skills have been shown to be of benefit. The ability to address individual and social group diversity derived from culture based teaching and multicultural education can only help the teacher do away with sex, class, and race based bias in the classroom, to the benefit of the students, community and nation.

Having identified some of the competencies of effective bilingual teachers, how can they be prepared to acquire and use them? There are two ways to address the answer to this question--preparing new teachers, and re-training current teachers. Preparation of teachers has taken place through pre-service education, emergency or accelerated training programs, and developing pre-teacher career ladders.

2.2 Pre-service education--university based approaches

There have been several strategies to create and improve pre-service teacher education. Generally, this approach has involved the development of specific courses relating to the unique aspects of bilingual instruction:

- o bilingual and ESL methods
- o teaching English reading
- o history and culture of minorities
- o introduction to bilingual ed

Most often these courses were developed as electives to meet a particular need or developed in response to credentialling requirements imposed by the state. They very often are additional requirements to the basic credential requirements.

Several teacher preparation programs have begun to emphasize undergraduate education, and courses have been, and could be, developed which would structure and sequence the "specialization" courses around the generic competencies necessary to be a good teacher, rather than the courses in addition to those one needs to complete the credential program. Learning a second language takes time, and there is a great need to have teachers proficient in non-English languages. Additional credit, coursework, years abroad, and other options for including non-English language proficiency for teachers at the undergraduate levels would help develop this non-English language instructional proficiency. These language programs should be communicatively based (rather than just learning grammar) and geared for teacher preparation, maybe combined with instructional methods courses.

2.3 Emergency programs--district based approaches

The emergency programs are also designed as crash recruitment drives to get an adult in the classroom while that person is undergoing training and credentialling. These programs generally require at least a bachelors degree, sometimes a non-English language fluency. They include a short (4 to 10 weeks) intensive training session in teaching methodology and curriculum, and then the person is placed in a classroom with some type of guidance and supervision while they attend courses at a nearby college or attend district sponsored courses for the required state credential.

2.4 Pre-teacher career ladders

There are several approaches to career ladders--those ladders leading towards becoming a credentialled teacher, and diversifying the teaching profession in order to have senior teaching positions that would keep teachers in the classroom through promotions, rather than seeing their professional advancement through the ranks of administration. The first approach to career ladders can be very fruitful in terms of numbers--e.g., there are more bilingual instructional aides in California (16,000) than there are credentialled bilingual teachers (8,000), and waivered teachers in bilingual classrooms (7,000) together. Many of these aides do not have degrees in higher education, and the career ladder programs tend to focus on obtaining this education by supporting Associate of Arts and Bachelor degree study. Few of the aides are included in in-service or other staff development programs, and their classroom teachers are seldom trained in team teaching, or teaching with an aide. Many of the aides have the non-English and English proficiencies required for bilingual classrooms, but do not have the instructional competencies and content knowledge for the credentialling, even through innovative apprenticeship programs.

Some of the concerns of school districts have included a fear that aides are more transient than teachers and for the districts to invest in staff development for aides only to have them leave the district is a losing proposition. Very often, however, these aides are parents rooted in those local communities. Some districts, with the support of union/employee contracts are soliciting a commitment from the aides to stay with the district for two years or a period of time that equals the training they

receive as greater assurance to the district of a return for their training investment.

The two fruitful directions in this area is to continue career ladder training of aides, as well as the training of adults to be effective instructional aides as paraprofessional partners in the instructional and educational enterprise.

The retraining of teachers currently employed in the schools has taken several approaches: in-service training including innovative approaches to this training, testing certification, and importation or recertification of foreign trained teachers.

2.5 In-service training of teachers

In order to meet the need for teachers with non-English language competencies, many school districts have organized in-service programs for already employed teachers to improve the teaching abilities with language minorities, often to become more sensitive to cultural differences, and sometimes, to learn the second language. These programs have either been supported or opposed by teacher unions.

Union support and attitudes have varied. If the union views the training as necessary to maintain current members in their jobs--very often the attitude is "let's do the least necessary to maintain these positions." Crash courses of 32 hours for second language competency have been developed with disastrous results. Where the goal competencies are instructional methodology and multicultural sensitivity, they have been a bit more successful, but not much. Very often, these in-service programs have raised the issue of how the unions do or do not represent the interests of all their members, including the bilingual and ESL teaching membership.

In other situations, with union support, there have been district in-service programs which have focussed on English as a second language instructional methodology and techniques for all teachers, whether they are in bilingual classrooms or not. These programs attempt to improve the quality of instruction for the district teaching staff, and although there may be some teacher resistance, are generally more successful because the approach is educationallly motivated rather than a bread and butter issue per se. Generally these are not one-time workshops, but attempt the development of instructional competencies for the teachers. One of the more successful

models of this in-service training has been the Multi-district Trainer of Trainers Institute.

2.6 Innovative models--Multi-district Trainer of Trainers Institutes

The multi-district trainer of trainers institute is being pioneered in 145 school districts in California and New York. It is a three year program that requires intensive summer sessions with six follow-up sessions throughout the year. Between sessions participants are instructed to do classroom observations and peer coaching. The approach to this training is unique in several respects. It is motivated by several findings from the staff development research literature:

o the most effective in-service teacher educators are other practicing teachers, or a peer coaching system of teachers, researchers, and trainers;

o when the content of the training is given in small amounts over an extended period of time, results are more positive than when content is presented as an intensive one-shot workshop;

o in order to ensure transfer of training into the teacher's classroom, follow-up coaching should be systematically included.

Elements of effective staff development include:

o the study of the theoretical basis or the rationale of teaching methods;

o the observation of demonstrations by persons who are relatively expert in the model;

o practice and feedback in protected conditions to ensure teacher comfort and confidence; and

o coaching one another at the school to ensure continuous development and use of the new skill.

These findings are supported by the conclusion that the type of training makes a difference in whether or not the teachers will use the training in their teaching. (see Table 2)

In utilizing the information we already have about effective staff development programs (in monolingual settings), the MTTI is designed to assure effective staff development for bilingual teachers (variations are being developed for administrators, and parents), through the following 3 year format:

o year 1 - content, process, practice, and curriculum (phase 1)

o year 2 - trainees train at school sites, coach to ensure transfer and receive new content (phase 2)

o year 3 - improvement of district curriculum and staff development program.

Table 2

Effectiveness of Different Types of Teacher Training

Type of training	Degree of Skill Development	Accurate & continuous use in classroom
Theory only	5%	5%
Theory and demonstrations	50%	5%
Theory, demos, practice and feedback	90%	5%
Theory, demos, practice feedback, & coaching	90 - 100%	75 - 90%

Source: Calderon and Speigel-Coleman, 1984, p. 74)

Preliminary results of some of the institutes are showing very good success, with 90% of former institute participants having had some impact on curriculum or program implementation at the school or district level. The elements which were identified as critical for the process portion of the training included:

o 5-10 hours of teacher information processing activities;

o 10-15 hours of demonstrations of each teaching model;

o 15-20 hours of practice with feedback for each model;

o 10-15 hours of practice giving technical and informal feedback to peers; and

o once a week peer observations and coaching sessions at the school site for the first two months of classroom implementation.

(Calderon, 1986)

In addition to this approach to staff development, the effectiveness of the teachers depends on understanding the "change process" in institutions

and complex organizations, as well as administrative support from strong principals involved in instructional leadership, and supportive parent participation in the schooling (as opposed to schools) of their children. MTTIs focussed on these two "constituencies" are also being developed.

2.7 The testing and certification route

There are many teachers who do not have specialist credentials as a bilingual teacher who find themselves in a situation where they need to obtain the specialist credentials. Several states have instituted a short certificate route for obtaining the additional needed training. Unlike teaching credentials per se these certificates (or endorsements) are viewed as "content" specialists. The range of required or recommended training is very great and ranges from a couple of courses to a couple of years training. These are often patterned after the large number of English as a second language certificate programs available throughout the country, with the exception that many of the ESL certificate programs attempt to meet some of the guidelines for such programs set out by the national Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) organization. The parallel National Association for Bilingual education does not have a similar set of bilingual teacher preparation or certificate guidelines.

In addition to these short certificate training programs, several states allow for these specialist competencies to be demonstrated through a test. In California this test (the Bilingual Certificate of Competency Examination) is standardized for the Spanish-English certificate, but not for the other languages, although the examination can only be taken through a state authorized assessor agency. It purports to examine competencies in the non-English language, bilingual and second language acquisition theory and instructional methodology, and cross-cultural knowledge. Again, more candidates pass these last two areas than do the non-English fluency examination.

We should keep in mind that states have also developed a "Waiver" process whereby teachers may waive the state requirements for bilingual teacher competencies for specified periods of time while they are enrolled in a specialist training program or are completing their testing. This allows them to stay teaching in the classroom, usually with additional support, such as an instructional aide who can speak the language of the students.

2.8 Innovative models--Interim Professional Courtesy Credentials

This idea for meeting the need for bilingual teachers is not new, but does demand expansion and modification if it is a viable teacher preparation strategy. The thrust of this alternative is to identify (e.g., refugees) or to "import" to the United States, native speakers of the non-English language who have been trained as teachers in their home country. Teacher programs which "import" these professionals, do so usually at their home government's expense for a short period of time. An alternative to this short period of time would be 6 to 10 years. For teachers who have taken up permanent residency in the U.S., this period of time could be used as part of a re-certification period.

These teachers could be given a courtesy credential (possibly termed a Teacher Associate which would be above an instructional aide, but not a fully credentialled teacher) to teach in a host state, teamed with a fully credentialled English fluent teacher. These teacher associates would be enrolled in a staff development career growth program, very much like the MTTI, with the addition of English language training and an orientation to U.S. schools. Since second language acquisition takes time, the teacher associates would be given six years to become proficient enough in English to be fully credentialled as a teacher.

2.9 Career ladders as professional diversification

The professional diversification of the instructional roles in education has produced mentor or master teachers as new categories, often tied to additional responsibilities like training new teachers, in exchange for incentive pay. These have generally not addressed bilingual education per se, although the model is equally applicable, particularly since the specialization of a teacher in the bilingual/ESL area is akin to a general medical practitioner specializing as a surgeon. A master bilingual teacher, would in effect be akin to a surgeon who teaches the specialization to general practitioners.

3.0 Implementation issues in teacher preparation and development

3.1 Incentives--pay differentials

A number of school districts have accepted the concept of pay differentials for specialist credential training. In some instances this involves additional pay for additional hours of work related to being a

specialist teacher (additional preparation time, assistance to other non-specialist teachers, etc.). This might be in the form of a stipend, or in the form of a percentage of the base salary. Other districts are implementing a pay differential without the additional time or duties.

For teachers who are in the process of completing specialist credentials, or competency examinations, there might be money incentives to complete the training, or with successful completion of the examination or credentialling process.

3.2 Consistency and standards in specialist credentials, certificates, and endorsements

With the tremendous variation of credentialling and required bilingual/language competencies between states, there is a concern for the transferrability of specialist credentials across states. In particular, this inconsistency reflects the lack of recognition of the competencies required for effective language and language based teaching. There is a need for greater dissemination of these competencies, and effective practices throughout the nation.

3.3 Transfer of competencies from training to instruction

The greatest and most critical concern is assuring the transfer of the training, whether pre-service or in-service, to use in the classroom. The single most often used mode for the training, other than university coursework, is the one-shot workshop. As we can see above in Table 2, this approach to staff development does not transfer well to classroom use.

3.4 Training in isolation

Much of the training which takes place is directed at teachers in isolation from other instructional or administrative personnel. This training must be complemented with training for administrators and school site staff for support and collaboration. It is particularly important to embed this training within the context of school change. More than just the addition of instructional skills, this training of bilingual competencies involves a "paradigm shift" in teaching which permeates the instructional process. Teachers must believe that language minority students can and will learn, and that the use of the non-English language is not unAmerican. If teachers resist the purposes of bilingual education, then this training will not be useful, nor will the programs be successful, nor will the students

learn. This paradigm shift is especially critical in in-service training of currently employed teachers. No additional training overcomes a teacher's expectation that a child, or group of children, will not learn.

3.5 Evaluation of teachers for staff development purposes

Administrators and master teachers should have the means to evaluate the performance of teachers, in order to better plan with and for them the staff development/professional growth programs they need for improving the quality of instruction for language minority students and for all students. (Marks, in press)

3.6 Teacher induction

How do you help new teachers teach better, and how do you retain them? Several colleges and universities have begun addressing both of these questions by developing models of teacher induction which include a variety of elements. Districts have helped new teachers through the stresses of initial teaching by assigning a master, mentor teacher, or just a buddy system amongst teachers, providing resources for development of the many teacher made materials needed at the beginning of a teacher's career and in other ways. Since the first two years of teaching are the most critical in teacher retention, we must provide greater attention to this period of teacher preparation and development.

3.7 Teacher retention

The need for bilingual teachers and their short supply has given rise to additional competition between districts for these teachers. Keeping teachers within a district has become a concern to maintain good quality instruction. Another concern in teacher retention is the additional instructional and administrative burden placed on the few bilingual teachers such that they "burn out" more quickly than other teachers. Many then request being re-assigned to a non-bilingual classroom, or leave teaching for administrative or non-education employment. The concern for so many teachers trained in ESL methods and not teaching in bilingual classrooms, or bilingual teachers who do not use their non-English language abilities is also of concern. (see section 1.3)

4.0 Summary and Recommendations

4.1 Follow-up--transfer of competencies

Whether bilingual teacher preparation takes place as pre-service or in-service education, we must assure transfer of the competencies to the classroom. The critical elements to assure this transfer are outlined above (see section 2.6), with the one critical element of coaching.

4.2 Bilingual and second language teaching methodologies and multicultural education teaching strategies needed for all teachers

Most of the largest school districts within the nation have a majority of their enrollments being racial/ethnic minorities. The need for understanding individual and group differences is more critical today than at any time in our country's history. All teachers should have cross-cultural teaching strategies and competencies. Since much of the teacher student interaction in the classroom can be seen as a series of linguistic interactions, then understanding the communicative strategies of language based instruction can only improve the quality of teaching, by assuring comprehension and comprehensible instruction for all students.

4.3 Assure opportunities for developing non-English language fluency

Support for NDEA type international travel, professional growth plans, tax credits for professional growth incentives, with adequate and reasonable time periods for learning second languages for teaching purposes addresses the most difficult teacher preparation competency in this area. We need to capitalize as well, on the various non-English language resources within the nation, focussing on developing the literacy and teaching skills of the individuals who already have those language abilities.

4.4 Training for aides to be more effective

The need for concentrated preparation of instructional aides as paraprofessionals should include competencies in bilingual, second language instructional methodologies as well as general teaching methods (Joyce and Weil, 1980), curriculum content, and team teaching strategies.

4.5 Dissemination of information

Information dissemination should be supported and coordinated with national teacher and other educational organizations as well as the various information clearinghouses (e.g., National Clearinghouse for Bilingual

Education, Educational Resources Information Clearinghouses). This information dissemination should include effective language and language based instructional practices and their concomitant necessary teacher competencies, a promotion of effective staff development strategies, programs, and practices, credential/certificate/endorsement requirements and recommendations across the states, and their resultant successes in the schools.

4.6 Facilitation of earlier teacher preparation and career growth

The recognition that teaching involves greater and earlier professional development as well as continued professional growth is important in some the government's actitivities. Undergraduate student loans, grants, loan forgiveness programs for teachers are some of these activities, but so are career growth tax credits and incentives.

4.7 Facilitate recruitment and exchange of foreign trained teachers

The federal government can facilitate the recredentialling of foreign trained teachers by identifying it as a critical profession for immigration, and by coordinating and facilitating teacher exchange programs with other national governments (the credentialling for which is already available through some states).

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ISSUES IN ESTIMATES OF THE NUMBER OF LIMITED ENGLISH PROFICIENT STUDENTS

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Differences in estimates of the limited-English-proficient population derive from efforts to count the number of children according to different definitions and interpretations of eligibility for services. At issue are the criteria for determining which language minority children are in need of English and native language related services. Thus, the problem is not simply one of differences in number of eligible children, but one in which the actual definition of who is eligible also varies. Current differences in estimates represent different definitions based on progressively restrictive characteristics for defining the eligible limited-English-proficient population. Serious consideration needs to be given to the educational implications and consequent characterization of the eligible LEP population. Definitions need to be considered in terms of whether they actually encompass (or exclude) language minority children who do not succeed in mainstream classrooms because they need language related services. The overriding concerns are: 1) who are the eligible language minority limited-English-proficient population (i.e., which language minority students need language related services); 2) what is their estimated number; and 3) how valid and reliable is the estimate. It is suggested that the main issue may not be the total number of students who are eligible, but rather the definition of who is eligible; the more restrictive the definition for eligibility, the more the number of LEP students decreases.

Counting the Number of LEP Students

As required by the Bilingual Education Act, efforts were begun in 1978 to estimate the number of limited-English-proficient (LEP) students eligible or in need of special language services. The resulting data has led to a controversy within the Department of Education and the field of bilingual education over differences in estimates being produced.

Prior to 1984 there were four main studies that were used for estimating the number of LEP students in the United States. They are:

- Children's English and Services Study (CESS), Language Minority Children with Limited English Proficiency in the United States (O'Malley, 1981);
- Projections of Non-English Language Minority Population (Oxford, et al, 1981);
- Size of the Eligible Language Minority Population (Barnes and Milne, 1981);
- Students with a Primary Language other than English: Distribution and Service Rates (Milne and Gompert, 1981).

Of these four, only two (O'Malley, 1981; Oxford, et al, 1981) were specifically conducted for the sole purpose of obtaining estimates of the eligible LEP student population under the Public Law 95-561). These studies were based on the same data set and formed the basis for the current U.S. Department of Education figures. Estimates provided by these two studies ranged from 2.6 million (in 1978) to 2.4 million (projected to 1985) LEP school age students age 5 to 14. Then Secretary of Education Bell relied on the 2.6 million figure because it resulted from a study designated for the sole purpose of providing the department with these estimates.

The other two studies (Barnes and Milne, 1981; Milne and Gombert, 1981) were conducted to estimate the number of students eligible according to different interpretations and different definitions of limited English proficiency than provided for by federal law. The results were based on secondary analyses of existant data bases which were obtained for other purposes and which did not necessarily include measures of English language proficiency. The studies were to provide estimates according to United States Department of Education proposed rules (i.e., NPRM, 1980) which defined eligibility or limited-English-proficiency in terms of dependency on a native language as well as limited English speaking ability. Estimates produced by these two studies ranged from 700,000 to 1.3 million LEP students in grades K-12 in 1978.

Current Estimates

There are two studies currently being conducted with Part C Title VII funds to estimate the number of LEP students in the United States. These are the "English Language Proficiency (ELP) Study" being conducted the U.S. Bureau of the Census and the "Longitudinal Evaluation of Services Provided to LEP Students" being conducted by Development Associates, a private contractor,.

The ELP study uses information on language background obtained from the 1980 census to identify a pool of households in which children of school age could be tested. The measure or test of English language proficiency used is the same test used in the CESS study on which previous national estimates are based. Preliminary findings estimate more than 2.6 million LEP students ages 5-14 for 1982. An algorithm is being developed to finalize these figures.

The "Longitudinal Evaluation Study" was not originally intended to provide estimates of the LEP population. This objective was later added onto the contract. Estimates are based on definitions of LEP which may or may not be consistent with the

Title VII definition. Respondents were provided with a definition that was similar to that provied in Title VII legislation and asked to provide counts. Two estimates are provided: one for district-level information and another based on school-level information. Neither of these estimates is necessarily based on actual test data. Rather, each is based on responses to the question of how many LEP students were enrolled in the district or school. Based on this type of information gathering, district-level estimates were 840,000 LEP students in K-6 (1.35 million for K-12) and school-level estimates were 767,000 LEP students in K-6.

The difference between the district-level and school-level estimates for K-6 is statistically significant according to the Development Associates report. District-level data are reported to be the more accurate and reliable. Local-level estimates for K-12 were not provided, and district-level estimates are extrapolated estimates for grades (7-12) for which not data was collected.

The major studies reporting different numbers have come from the National Institute of Education (NIE), Office of Planning, Budget, and Evaluation (OPBE), and the Bureau of the Census. NIE conducted the first and perhaps the most ambitious study in that a specific test, Language Measurement and Assessment Instrument (LM&AI) was developed for the purpose of assessing language proficiency so that national estimates could be made (CESS, 1978). Later reports by OPBE were based on reanalysis of existing and sometimes questionable data sets as well as definitions inconsistent with Title VII (Barnes and Milne, 1981) or on secondhand data of an aggregate nature (Development Associates, 1984). The ELP study is based on information and direction provided by OBEMLA, NIE and OPBE, with most input provided by OPBE. While this study uses the same test (LM&AI) that was used in the earlier NIE study, a different scoring

procedure for determining language proficiency and a special algorithm (in progress) for estimating the size of the LEP population is used.

Differences in Definitions of LEP

The basic issue underlying identification of LEP minority language students is different definitions that are used to describe students from a non-native English background and in the procedures that are used to measure the students' English language proficiency. With few exceptions, all of the studies or reports dealing with estimating the number of LEP students have been conducted with Title VII funds provided through Part C of the Bilingual Education Act. Thus, their adherence, at least in principle, to the Title VII definition would be expected. Nevertheless, some of the studies have applied different operational definitions of limited English proficiency and hence have produced estimates that are based on a redefinition of who should be eligible for services, rather than the number of students who should be eligible under the Title VII definition.

The standard definition of limited English proficiency is that provided for in Title VII. It includes individuals who because of a non-native English language background "have sufficient difficulty speaking, reading, writing, or understanding the English language to deny such individuals the opportunity to learn successfully in classrooms where the language of instruction is English or to participate fully in our society." It is important to note that "native language" is defined as the language normally used or "in the case of a child, the language normally used by the parents of the child." It is the implementation of this definition into practice where differences and disagreements occur.

The more interesting question concerns the disparity in the range of estimates, from 700,000 to 2.6 million school-age children.

While differences in definitions and methodology provide a ready explanation (Ulibarri, 1982), one might inquire as to why different definitions and methods have been used within the Federal government, so that one is left with internal disagreement and contradictory reports to both the Secretary of Education and the Congress. In 1983 former Secretary of Education Bell was provided with three separate reports and three different estimates. Only one of these reports was conducted for the purpose of providing estimates and was the one used. Nevertheless, two reports containing different and substantially lower estimates were being proposed to the Secretary by OPBE. These reports had been severely criticized by a panel of experts drawn together at NIE, some of whom were involved in the original studies on which OPBE estimates were based and who stated emphatically that estimates based on their data was inappropriate.

A specific case in point is the use of "Sustaining Effects Study" (SES) data. This study was conducted to evaluate Title I. In the introduction the authors specifically state that students who were LEP, in bilingual programs, or receiving language related services were excluded from the study to avoid confounding the evaluation. Nevertheless, OPBE continues to use and report estimates derived from the SES database despite the authors' disclaimers. The SES database is also being used to evaluate the effects of bilingual and immersion programs in another Part C study (Ramirez, 1985).

The differences existing in both the meaning of limited English proficiency and in the way it is measured has contributed to the confusion surrounding the issue of delivery of services. While differences in measurement are tolerable, and indeed should occur for local programs, differences in meaning should not. It is with respect to the meaning of what it is to be LEP where researchers have made errors and produced controversy. Yet,

federal law clearly states that limited English proficiency refers to the ability of non-English language background students to benefit or have an equal opportunity to benefit from instruction provided in English.

The issue of the students so-called "language dominance" is irrelevant with regard to eligibility since the federal law also provides that in "the case of children," native language is defined as the language normally used by the child's parents.

Thus, a child does not have to be proficient in the native language to be eligible for services; only have a "native language" other than English and be limited in English proficiency. This is because what is relevant is whether the student is likely to or is having academic difficulties in school that are language background related. And it is here where "flexibility" in measurement can, does and should occur. The English language proficiency required to succeed in various school districts across the country is not necessarily the same because of the nature of the students, the school and a myriad of other local characteristics. That is to say that students would be able to benefit with different levels of English language proficiency not because there are lower expectations, or because the language skills are not important or needed, but because the level of competition and delivery of subject matter would be designed to take into account the salient characteristics and needs of the students as reflected in their particular community.

Thus, while local control and flexibility are necessary in determining how to best assess LEP with respect to their schools, the ability to succeed in the mainstream classroom should be the underlying commonality across all schools and states.

Implications for Delivery of Services

There are certain changes in the characteristics of LEP students that have implications for the delivery of services. The most relevent have to do with the size of the LEP population and its' heterogeneity. The size of the LEP population has continued to increase according to state data and other recent estimates, and the number of language groups counted has also become more varied. Even within a particular language group there are noticeable differences in both English language proficiency and native language proficiency as well as differences in prior educational experiences in the native language.

Some of these observed changes can be attributed to different (although not necessarily better) assessment procedures and to the growing concensus that literacy skills or academic language proficiency be included in assessment procedures. Nevertheless, immigration patterns have also contributed to these changes in both the size and demographic characteristic of the LEP population in the Unite States.

Because of the changes in the characteristics of the LEP students population, flexibility in how language services are delivered is important. There is a need for alternative programs of services for LEP students for a variety of reasons such as local resources, heterogeneity of language groups, and demography within a school district (e.g., pocket populations). Not all of these reasons have to do with sound pedagogical practice but they nevertheless contribute to whether a program is likely to be implemented successfully and hence whether a student is likely to benefit from the program of services.

The most significant implication has to do with attempts to estimate the size of the LEP student population by claiming that LEP students should be those most in need (i.e, the non-English

speaking) or must be dominant in their native language. Efforts to produce smaller estimates based on these arguments circumvent the intent of Congress and the Bilingual Education Act since they essentially redefine the eligible LEP population as described under the law. This position is based on the false assumption that the only services provided under the Bilingual Education Act and being implemented in the schools are those that use the student's native language. It therefore follows that if students are to be taught in their native language, then they should be dominant in that language. However, the majority of programs provided to LEP students, including those funded by federal bilingual education funds do not use the native language exclusively and more than half do not use it at all. Moreover, the students in these programs are non-English language background students who are not succeeding in mainstream classrooms as determined by local definitions. In other words the LEP students are identified by local definitions which are consistent with the definition provided for in the law.

Thus, the current controversy and polarization over alternative methods is somewhat moot since in practice school districts already provide a variety of services. Schools do not differ with respect to the kinds of services they provide and this is true regardless of the label given a program. That is, it is not uncommon to find that bilingual programs and immersion programs consist of the same services, use the same amounts of the native language, and serve the same students (who have switched from one program of service to another).

Evaluations of bilingual programs and alternative programs have revealed that while program labels may vary greatly, there seems to be little difference in the actual classroom application. Most schools (over 51%) provide services which do not use the students' native language and an even higher percentage do not

have teachers that speak the students' native language (Development Associates, 1984).

Most evaluations of "bilingual education" have been evaluating results of programs that do not use the native language, and yet, based on these results bilingual education continues to be criticized as ineffective. Therefore, one could conclude that the equivocal results regarding program effectiveness are due for the most part to problems of how services are delivered. In short, evaluations of bilingual and alternative programs provide the same results since in practice there is really no difference in the types of services students end up receiving. Moreover, it is safe to say that so-called national evaluations of bilingual programs as well as some state programs (e.g., Texas Education Agency, 1985; Ulibarri & DeAvila, 1986) are really evaluations of alternative programs.

It is clear that alternative programs already exist and appear to be the majority that are offered for those students receiving services. The argument, if there is to be one, is that bilingual programs have not been fully implemented and that it is the alternative programs that have produced the current equivocal evaluation results. The current argument to change legislation or to expand money for alternative programs is simply uninformed and based on a misunderstanding of the field of bilingual education. Alternative programs exist legally under current legislation. More importantly, identification of LEP students, and delivery of services are already completely under local control. The discussion should therefore be on the quality of services being provided and other ways to help local school districts, rather than on legislative or policy issues that serve to cloud the issue and ultimately prevent the education of LEP students.

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Academic Achievement of Language Minority Children

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The limited educational outcomes of children from language minority backgrounds is a well documented fact--see e.g. The Condition of Education, 1981 (National Center for Education Statistics, 1981). The Federal Bilingual Education Act (Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965) provides support for transitional bilingual education programs promoting limited English proficient children's school achievement and children's rapid development of English skills. A major goal of Title VII programs is to transition children as quickly as possible into English-only instruction. At present, there is a great deal of controversy regarding the effectiveness of programs. The Department of Education has proposed new amendments to the Bilingual Education Act (Bennet, 1986) which would permit increased funding of Title VII programs which would be of an innovative character and not require instruction in children's non-English native language. An important motive for the suggested changes is the belief that existing bilingual programs have proven ineffective and that school districts need greater flexibility in configuring education for limited English proficient children given available resources and school priorities.

In light of these concerns, I will discuss some research theory and findings which are relevant to improved educational practices for children who are presently targeted for bilingual education instruction. As will become evident, I judge that current research supports the use of

non-English instruction with limited-English proficient children, and that innovative programs of instruction will be most effective only if non-English instruction is included and combined with English language instruction. I am supportive of the concept of innovative programs because research findings have begun to accumulate suggesting that there are major improvements which we can make in designing classroom learning tasks, in making education relevant to children's experiences, in involving parents in stimulating children's learning, and in the training of teachers.

Why Learning Issues Become Obscured

It is difficult for the public at large to understand the social complexity of bilingualism and cultural diversity extant within in our society. Data from the 1980 Census suggest that a non-English language is spoken at home by about 10 percent of the population (Macias & Spencer, 1983). The high concentration of Hispanic, Asian, and other language minority populations in certain states, regions, and urban areas of the country has raised concern on the part of some citizens. An unwarranted fear has arisen that bilingual education might promote social and cultural instability, and further, that widespread, public use of non-English languages retards the cultural and social assimilation of non-English background persons into an alleged "American mainstream." Yet another fear, is that, somehow, bilingual education might lead to replacement of English on a widespread social scale.

I will not discuss some Americans' fear of cultural and social diversity here, but will instead concentrate on research addressing fear that English

may be replaced by non-English languages on a widespread scale. Veltman (1981), in a federally funded study of language variation and language change in the United States found no evidence to support the conclusion that bilingual education might be allied with the widespread replacement of English by non-English languages. Veltman based his work on data stemming from the 1976 Survey on Income and Education (SIE). He concluded that increases in the immigration rates of non-English background persons were responsible for increased use of non-English languages, but that English quickly became the preferred language of the offspring of immigrants. Data indicated that by the third generation of offspring, English became the primary, if not sole language of descendants. Laosa (1975) came to a similar conclusion in his study of intergenerational language preferences of Cuban American, Mexican American, and Puerto Rican families. Social preference for use of non-English languages seems to be evident only in communities showing high rates of contact with recent non-English background immigrants; in these communities preference for use of the non-English language may be maintained over generations (Language Policy Task Force, 1980). Frequency of non-English use may also be high in communities where use of the non-English language historically preceded use of English--e.g. in Southwest border communities and in Southern Colorado and New Mexico (Ornstein-Galicia, 1981).

Hernandez-Chavez (1978) has argued that it is unrealistic to expect that bilingual education programs could actually induce historical maintenance of a non-English language in a community. He argued that even so-called "maintenance" bilingual education programs could not lead

to such maintenance. Widespread maintenance could only result if the non-English language were acceptable as a language of everyday discourse in important social settings--a situation which is possible in only a few American communities.

The positive social values of bilingualism are not widely acknowledged by the American public. The ability of non-English background persons to maintain proficiency in the non-English language and also to have strong proficiency in English can itself promote intercommunication and cooperation between immigrant non-English speakers and American monolinguals at large. While many non-English background persons wish to maintain and cultivate their cultural and ethnic heritage among themselves and their descendents, survey evidence suggests that they strongly see the advantage of their children becoming fluent in English.

Failure to accept existing diversity in the social, cultural, and linguistic characteristics of Americans impedes concern for the educational outcomes of children from non-English backgrounds. Rather than being concerned primarily with maximizing children's educational progress, attention becomes siphoned-off into a concern for protecting the stereotype of an American mainstream and in order to avoid the costs and planning needed for bilingual programs. The immediate solution is to require that limited English proficient children get by in monolingual English programs with minimal language services. Attention is not focused on maximally stimulating children's intellectual development. Instead it tends to become focused on tracking children into remedial programs in the hopes that deficiencies in academic performance can be resolved by emphasis on basic skills taught via isolated drills and

worksheet exercises. This "submersion" strategy does not work and the public at large pays the costs in the long-run in terms of unemployment rates and lost economic productivity.

Educational Survey Trends

Recent federally funded research on the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) and the High School and Beyond Longitudinal Survey (HS&B) has produced valuable information on factors associated with the failure of language minority students to progress in ordinary classrooms at rates comparable to those for non-minority White students. The findings of this research point out a number of factors associated with differences between the school achievement of language minority and non-language minority students. A good deal of the educational achievement advantage of monolingual non-minority students over minority and language minority students is associated with a number of interrelated factors. These factors include: parental education level, length of family U.S. residence, family socioeconomic status, English language proficiency, non-English language proficiency, preference for use of a non-English language in the home, student aspirations, and characteristics of school settings.

Understanding how various of the foregoing factors affect achievement is no easy task given that the factors are all interrelated in the real world. Fernandez & Nielsen (1986) provide one of the clearest interpretations yet in the context of Hispanic high school students who participated in the first wave of the High School and Beyond Longitudinal

Survey. The study produced evidence consistent with previous research (e.g. Jenks et. al., 1972) indicating that parental education background and socioeconomic status were statistically significant predictors of educational aspirations and of achievement test scores regardless of the language status of students. The study also found some evidence that student family's length of U.S. residence could act as a negative predictor of students' aspirations and achievement. The most important finding of the study, however, concerned the impact of students' language characteristics on educational aspirations and school achievement measures after controlling for the influence of other predictor variables.

Nielsen and Fernandez found that Hispanic students' self-ratings of proficiency in English were significant predictors of student's achievement test scores after controlling for the influence of other variables. This is, of course, is not surprising. In addition, however, they found two contrasting patterns with regard to the impact of Spanish on prediction of academic achievement. First, they found that students' self-ratings of proficiency in Spanish were statistically significant predictors of achievement test scores. Second, in contrast to this finding, they found that frequency of oral Spanish use acted as a negative predictor of achievement test scores after controlling for other variables.

The finding that high proficiency in a non-English language has a positive impact on English language school achievement is consistent with research and theory suggesting that bilinguals are capable of transferring important language and thinking skills across similar tasks presented in two languages (Cummins, 1981; Hakuta & Diaz, in press).

The finding that frequent oral use of a non-English language is negatively associated with achievement is more subtle to interpret. The finding may be naively misinterpreted to imply that speaking the non-English language itself causes poor school achievement because it impedes thinking skills. There is no empirical basis for this folk belief (Hakuta, 1986). Current research in sociolinguistics and ethnography of communication suggests a more likely interpretation founded on empirical research. Research by a number of investigators (see Durán, 1985 for a review) indicates that preference for oral use of the non-English language may be allied with limited knowledge of the conventions of English language oral interaction in the schools, and just as importantly, with teachers' limited familiarity with children's communicative competence in their native language.

Research indicates that children need to develop skills in recognizing norms for interaction in the classroom and how teachers' and childrens' use of language maps onto the conduct of teaching and learning activities. In order for communication to procede effectively both teachers and students must share the same repertoire of norms for how to interact appropriately in the conduct of learning activities. Communication and learning may be inhibited in classrooms when teachers don't allow students to exercise familiar communicative behaviors. Research indicates that one of the major benefits of bilingual education programs is that they promote children's development of academic interaction skills in their native language--skills which can then be transfered into English language classroom interaction as children's English skills develop.

Survey research on language minority students also suggests that students' aspirations for further schooling may be significantly related to achievement. National Assessment of Educational Progress data for 1983-84 indicated that language minority White and Hispanic students in the 4th, 8th, and 11th grades were less likely to judge that they would complete high school than non language minority students (Baratz and Durán, 1986). Other analyses of this data indicated a significant relationship between students' NAEP reading achievement test scores and their expectations for high school graduation after controlling for the influence of other variables such as students' ethnic and language minority status, parents' education level, materials in the home aiding education, and a variety of student behaviors related to school achievement.

Results of this sort have important policy implications. They suggest that interventions promoting students' educational aspirations may have a positive impact on students' school achievement, though there is likely to be a circular relationship between educational aspirations and school achievement. Interestingly, these findings are consistent with syntheses of research comparing educational achievement across different language minority subgroups. Ogbu and Matute-Bianchi (1986), for example, concluded that the greater academic success of Asian immigrants to the U.S. relative to Hispanics (and Blacks) can be explained in large part by the higher educational aspirations of Asians.

The Ogbu and Matute-Bianchi work is also valuable to cite because it suggests that the educational support system of the family is critical in the development of educational aspirations. Ogbu and Matute-Bianchi theorize that many Hispanic (and Black) children are socialized to expect

that education will not pay-off as equitably for them as for non-minority children. While they theorize that the sources of these socialization patterns lie in racial and social class discrimination against minority persons, they suggest that the perpetuation of lowered educational expectations can only be broken when minority group members themselves raise their expectations. It is interesting to note that these latter views are not inherently inconsistent with calls by the current Federal Administration for directing more bilingual education funds towards families involvement in the education of children. It would seem that the major policy controversy which could arise would be the extent to which appropriate interventions would reflect the goals and values of language minority families themselves versus goals imposed external to communities and families. For example, language minority families may espouse some maintenance of the non-English language by children as well as the learning of English as the primary language for schooling. These views may conflict with those of program policy makers who view extinction of non-English language use by children as a necessary goal.

Assessing the Impact of Bilingual Education Programs

Isolated evaluation studies of bilingual programs have shown only occasional educational benefits to non-English background children receiving bilingual education. Further examination of individual research studies has shown them to be plagued often by shortcomings in research design and methodological limitations (Baker & de Kanter, 1981; Troike, 1978). Recently, however, a major meta-analysis study by Willig (1985) which statistically controlled for the design characteristics of evaluation studies has provided clear evidence that bilingual education programs

have a modest, but noteworthy, positive impact on language minority children's achievement.

Willig examined 23 studies that had been reviewed previously as part of a syntheses of bilingual evaluation studies by Baker and de Kanter (1981). Baker and de Kanter had found very little evidence that bilingual programs had any impact on students' achievement. Willig's analyses of the same studies found that variations in the methodological characterstics of the studies tended to obscure evidence of bilingual children's improved achievement relative to control group children not receiving bilingual education. Using sophisticated statistical procedures, she was able to control for the methodological characteristics of studies in estimating the effect size of bilingual education and non-bilingual programs on children's school achievement. Her findings favoring the impact of bilingual programs on children's learning are dramatic because nothing in her procedures induced favoritism for bilingual program over non-bilingual programs. Her results could have shown that bilingual programs had less positive impact on achievement or no more impact on achievement than non-bilingual programs. This did not occur. Bilingual education programs were found to improve students' achievement more than comparison non-bilingual programs. She stated [p 259.] "... that the average student in bilingual programs scored higher than 74% of the students in the traditional [monolingual] programs when all test scores were aggregated." She further noted that more attention is needed for the potential impact of bilingual programs on achievement in school subjects such as social studies and in science areas rather than data on language arts classes. While data is sparse, she suggested that bilingual programs may have a

positive impact on learning in subject matter areas not usually associated with intensive use of English.

Evidence that bilingual education programs are effective and that federal and state investments in such programs has been effective has thus begun to emerge. It is fair to state, however, that we have just begun to understand how bilingual programs work to improve learning and how the benefits of such programs and other programs might enhance the educational progress of language minority children.

Implications for Congressional Action

The foregoing discussion suggests the following policy implications for Congress:

1. Deemphasis of non-English language instruction as part of Title VII educational programs may hinder the educational progress of limited English proficient children from some backgrounds. Hindrance of progress will be most evident for those children whose parents show low educational attainment and whose homes emphasize oral use of the non-English language. Title VII programs' reliance on native language instruction provides a vital bridge between students' communicative competence skills in the native language and the learning of communicative competence skills in English. Congress should not allow Title VII to be altered so as to reduce the responsibility of schools to provide instruction in the language which children know best. Providing instruction in the native language does not work against the intent of Title VII to develop children's English language skills so that they are capable of pursuing schooling in English only.

2. Congress needs to continue its support of educational survey research investigating educational attainment and achievement patterns of linguistic minority children. Research of this sort helps policy makers and educators in analysing long term trends in the education of linguistic minority children and the impact of such trends upon educational policy at large.

3. Congress should continue its support of research on the impact of Title VII programs on children's achievement and educational outcomes. Evidence has emerged suggesting that bilingual programs can be effective and continued research is needed on discovering those characteristics which exemplify successful programs.

4. The Department of Education's call for innovative research in the design of bilingual education programs and call for research on improving parents' participation in the schooling of children should be supported--but not at the expense of eliminating instruction in children's native language. Local school district educators may erroroneously advocate the design of innovative programs eliminating instruction in the native language based on convenience and this may serve to retard the educational development of many limited English proficient children.

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EFFECTIVE TEACHERS FOR LANGUAGE MINORITY STUDENTS, NATIONAL NEEDS

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> In 1986 language minority students constitute a minimum of 20% of the student population of the United States. In less than 5 years, the student population of the the 28 largest cities in the country will be at least 50% minority.
>
> Fifty percent (50%) of the Hispanic students nationwide are not completing 12 years of schooling. The national drop-out rate for all students is estimated at not less than 25%.
>
> Los Angeles Unified School District is losing some 20,000 students each year to attrition between the 10th and 12th grade. The expected loss in earnings for each class, in the year after graduating is over $30 million (James Catterall, UCLA professor, Educational adminstration and policy studies, 1985).
>
> The greatest harm of the dropouts will be seen when those students, in turn, become parents (Luis A. Gonzales, Arizona State Senator, 1986).
>
> Los Angeles Unified School District hires 2500 instructors under emergency provisions, in response to shortage of credentialled teachers (Los Angeles Times, Sept. 1985).

National Need for Attention to Schools

The above litany of statements concerning our schools indicate that the country indeed has a problem. Ours is a nation with compulsory schooling, meaning that education for all its residents has been established by law. However, for a sizeable proportion of the population the requirement is not being met, and among those, persons of Hispanic background are particularly vulnerable. The National Commission on Secundary Schooling for Hispanics, in its recently published report summarized its investigation as follows:

> "The fundamental finding of the National Commission on Seconday Schooling for Hispanics is that a shucking prportion of this generation of Hispanic young people is being wasted. Wasted because their educational needs are neither understood nor met, their high aspirations unrecognized, their promising potential stunted."
>
> --National Commission on Seconday Schooling for Hispanics, 1985;05.

Furthermore, because the Hispanic group is growing, both in numbers and in proportion to the total population, if schooling

conditions do not change in the immediate future for that group the nation's problem will become even more critical.

This paper focuses on teachers. With the purpose of assisting the discussion on how to improve schooling for the language minority student the following issues are addressed: (1) The relationship of teachers, schools and student retention. (2) The quality and numbers of teachers needed, given the current demographics and projected increased enrollments. (3) the types of training and support these educators require in order to optimally serve these particular students and therefore the nation. (4) Recruitment and retention of effective teachers. Policy recommendations will be summarized at the end of the paper.

Teachers, Critical Element in Student Success or Failure

No one can argue that teachers and students are not the key figures in any schooling situation. Indeed, we can go as far as to say that teachers have no meaning if they are not successfully teaching students. The research on school dropouts frequently discounts students' views for leaving school, rather, the studies look for indicators that show characteristics of those students, such as socio-economic status, family background or personal characteristics (Wehlage and Rutter, 1986). However, while factors external to the school are attended, or ignored, by other social agencies, educators can, in the meantime, seriously study those insights provided by the students and investigate the issues that are within the domain of policy and practice. To ignore the views of the persons most effected may be interpreted as not being serious about the desire to remedy the situation.

When students are asked why they left school before completing the twelveth grade, among the most frequent answers given are (a) that they did not have much success there and (b) that they didn't get along well with their teachers. Table 1, Iron

Make Something Happen (National Commission for Secondary Education of Hispanics, 1985) shows the responses from the extensive study conducted by the National Center for Educational Statistics in 1983 (30,000 students). We note that the relationship between students and teachers is critical among reasons for leaving school.

TABLE 1

Reasons Reported by Hispanic 1980 Sophomore Dropouts for Leaving High School, by Sex.

	Male		Female	
	National	Hispanic	National	Hispanic
School-Related				
Expelled or suspended	13	17	5	4
Had poor grades	36	34	30	32
School was not for me	35	25	31	24
School ground too dangerous	3	1	2	3
Didn't get into desired program	8	7	5	5
Couldn't get along with teachers	21	17	10	12
Family-Related				
Married or plan to	7	10	31	33
Was pregnant	N/A	N/A	24	25
Had to support family	13	17	8	11
Peer-Related				
Friends were dropping out	7	3	2	3
Couldn't get along with students	5	7	4	6
Health-Related				
Illness or disability	5	2	7	6
Other				
Offered a job and chose to work	27	20	11	13
Wanted to enter military	7	4	1	1
Moved too far from school	2	3	5	2
Wanted to travel	7	3	7	6

Notes:
All figures given in percentages
Students could report more than one reason
Percentages have been rounded off to nearest whole number

Source: National Commission for Secondary Education of Hispanics, Make Something Happen, 1985

Table 2, from from Wehlage and Rutter (1986), shows another analysis of the data from the extensive study cited above. It displays the responses of students who were non-college bound graduates and those who left school. The table shows that the majority of the students don't evaluate very positively the schools in any of the three factors, (a)teachers interest in students, (b) effectiveness in school discipline, or (c) fairness of school discipline. The students most unhappy with the

school's relationship with the students, however, are those who dropped out.

Table 2

Marginal Students' Views of School (Percentage responses for each item; sample size for each group is indicated in parentheses)

Item	Response	Hispanics (294,105) N-CB	DO*	Blacks (245,100) N-CB	DO	Whites (1,632,531) N-CB	DO
Rate teacher interest in students	Poor	10	17	14	20	12	20
	Fair	39	39	33	30	37	39
	Good	36	31	38	24	40	30
	Excellent	11	7	8	11	7	7
	Don't know	4	6	7	15	4	4
Rate effectiveness of school discipline	Poor	13	21	12	16	11	12
	Fair	42	28	40	47	41	38
	Good	33	34	24	16	35	33
	Excellent	6	14	12	6	8	11
	Don't know	8	6	11	15	5	6
Rate fairness of school discipline	Poor	19	22	22	28	21	26
	Fair	37	27	39	31	38	38
	Good	29	22	25	19	33	25
	Excellent	6	10	6	5	5	5
	Don't know	9	8	7	17	4	6

* N-CB = Non-College-Bound Graduates; DO = Dropouts

Source: Wehlage and Rutter, 1986

If success in school eludes particular groups of students in greater number than it does others, it behooves policy makers as well as educators to investigate why that may be so. It is a matter of record that as a general rule, the schools with large numbers of language minority schools have lower level academic achievement than schools where Anglo students are in the majority. Various reasons are advanced for that condition. Many studies, as mentioned above, ascribe socio-economic status as the main reason for poor academic achievement. They will also emphasize other factors external to the school such as poor attitude on the part of the students, parents with low educational background, or scrace reading material in the home (Valadez, 1984). However, educators can also look to themselves and the school context to see if the school, to some extent, is creating some of the reasons for low achievement, and therefore helping to stimulate discipline problems or poor attitude. Educators should ask themselves, "How easy is it for a student to succeed academically in a school?" (Fine, 1986).

Obviously access is not sufficient, quality education needs to be offered (Fine, 1986, Goodlad, 1984). A criticism that has been aimed at schools is that they are geared primarily for the 20% who may go on to college. A school may think of itself successful if it succeeds in eliminating from its rolls those students that may not be college bound. Indeed, one school in Los Angeles (80%+ Hispanic) reports that 64% of its graduates go on to further schooling (Community Colleges, California State Universities or University of California, and out of state 4-year Colleges). In this same school 50% of the students that enroll as sophomores do not graduate (personal communication with school officials at particular school). Likewise, a predominantly black and Puerto Rican high school in New York City was found to have 80% dropout rate, but most of those who did survive and obtained their high school diploma were said to have gone on to college. (Fine, 1986) College completion is not assured for all who enroll, however.

In sum, many studies identify the characteristics of the non-achieving student who drops out. Research on this topic is so abundant that the children at risk of leaving before completing high can be identified as early as fourth grade. However, rather than solely attending to the factors external to the schools, as important as they may be, this paper addresses the factors that are within control of the school. The information from the High School and Beyond study, as analysed by Wehlage and Rutter, as well as the Commission on Secondary Schooling for Hispanics, shows that schools are not seen very favorably by most of its students. Even those that don't drop out are not very laudatory about their schools. However, we do have a school system, and there are individuals there "entrusted to perform the social mandate of educating all students." (Wehlage and Rutter, 1986; The public might assume these instructors are well prepared and well assisted to perform their contracted obligations. If so, policy reforms suggested by Wehlage and Rutter and others, and endorsed in this paper, can insist on (1) a stronger sense of

professional accountability among educators towards all students (2) designing school work that will allow a greater number of students to achieve success and satisfaction, and (3) having schools encourage students to continue their schooling.

Teachers, Quality and Quantity Needed

The type of schools that would encourage success among all its students requires teachers with particular skills and talent. Below are listed the well known skills required of good teachers of English speaking students, and we also describe the additional characterisitcs required of effective teachers of language minoritiy youngsters. Elsewhere in this book (Hakuta and Snow) is coverage on research evidence of effectiveness of bilingual instruction for language minority students. We concentrate on teachers in this article.

Given the trends towards greater numbers of language minority students in the nation's schools, the only responsible position for teachers now in classrooms is to seek strong, solid bilingual/multicultural training. Likewise, teacher training institutions, need to provide the teacher-to-be with tools for appropriately meeting these students' educational needs.

Additionally, many states in the country have bilingual teacher certification. It is important to note that bilingual teacher training is an added component to regular credential requirements. Therefore, a teacher with bilingual certification is trained and authorized to teach in classes where English is the sole medium of instruction, as well in classes that need special skills for teaching where more than one language is used.

Certification requirements

Every state in this country authorizes teaching certification upon completion of a Bachelor's degree and set amount of course work on teaching, including supervised field experiences (student teaching). In most states, credentialling departments allow the training for the bilingual component to be done concurrently with the basic credential requirements. Thus,

upon completion of the teacher preparation program a candidate recommended to the state's credentialling office, will be authorized with a basic credential for elementary or secondary school teaching, with its respective bilingual emphasis. Other states require that the basic credential be completed before undertaking the training for the the bilingual endorsement.

The content covered in the training is worth reviewing. The basic courses are (1) principles of educational psychology, which include learning theory, motivation, cognitive development and (2) principles of curriculum and instruction, which cover task analysis, instructional planning, and classroom management techniques. Most teacher training programs also include clinical courses in teaching subject matter. Additionally, in some states future teachers are also given instruction on working effectively with auxiliary personnel in the classroom and working with parents. With the bilingual teacher trainee, the foundations courses, as well as the applied assignments address the learning needs of limited English students and language minority students.

In 1986, some 40 states in the country have some sort of bilingual legislation and its concomitant certification. Because the need for bilingual competencies exists in many classrooms already staffed, legislation has also provided the schools with ways to assure that their teachers indeed have the competencies required by the education laws. In-service programs provide teachers with the theoretical and applied knowledge they would have obtained in a university program. Instruction for gaining proficiency in the target language is frequently also provided through in-service programs. The states have procedures to assess the teachers for those competencies and provide bilungual certification to those who successfully pass the examinations.

Whether the teacher obtains the training at a university, or is certified by examination, the fields of knowledge for bilingual teachers include three basic areas: Proficiency in the target language (the home language of the students being served),

culture of the particular group, and bilingual education methodology. The university training, as well as the assessment, follows the guidelines provided by the state credentialling board.

Summary of Effective Teaching

All teachers need strengthening on a basic component of teaching. Successful teaching depends heavily upon how well the teacher can apply the following cardinal rule in teaching: Determine the characteristics of the students you teach and plan your instruction according to these. It's the teacher's obligation to understand the students--the variation in their abilities, their strengths and weaknesses, and their stage of development. Important student characteristics include... "kinds of individual differences, such as age, gender, intelligence, previous achievement, social class and ethnic background..." (Cave and Berliner, 1984:04).

The following is a list of features from studies in effective teaching. The reader will see that language minority students require and should receive the same high quality instruction that the majority child merits.

1. Instruction is guided by pre-planned curriculum. It sets goals and objectives for language minority children as those desirable for majority children.

2. There are high expectations for student learning. There are high regards for students' abilities. There are high expectations and high standards for all children, regardless of ethnic background.

3. Students are carefully oriented to lessons. Teachers help students get ready to learn, to keep objectives in mind and to maintain focus. Teachers help relate the new lesson to previous knowledge and previous lessons.

4. Instruction is clear and focused. Teaching is presented in with the purpose of helping the student learn. There is an explanation of what is going to be done, then the teacher goes over the steps to solve the problem while doing it, verbalizing the process. Finally, the teacher reviews what was done.

In reading, reading skills are taught in order to read, not to learn reading skills. Skill builders build skills, not love of reading. (Cazden, 1985).

Homework is used for practice, not for learning and figuring out how to do something for the first time.

5. The learning process is monitored closely. Monitoring is conducted formally and informally. Students are kept accountable for their academic work. There is quick assessment and feedback. Monitoring is also for assessing how well something was taught.

6. When students don't understand, they are re-taught. (This sounds simple, but many teachers want to teach the book--they dont want to leave the book half covered, as a consequence, the material may not be learned as well as it should.

7. Class time is used for learning. Minimum time is taken for settling down to work. Disruptions for management are avoided.

8. There are smooth, efficient classroom routines, which students know and, therefore, there is no need to wait for the teacher's instructions. There is self-monitoring. Materials and supplies are ready, or there is a system for the children to get them quietly and unobtrusively. (Language minority children usually arrive at school fully competent in self-management. At school improperly trained teachers frequently make these children feel incompetent).

9. Instructional groups are formed to fit instructional needs. When introducing new concepts and skills, whole group instruction, actively led by the teacher, is preferable, if all the children understand the language of the teacher.

   Smaller groups are formed as needed to ensure that all students learn thuroughly. Underplacement is to be avoided.

   Teachers review and adjust groups often, moving students when achievement levels change.

   For some instruction, mixing achievement groupings is desirable. Children should not be "tracked," always in homogeneous achievement groupings.

   There are opportunities for language development. Each lesson has oral activities in order that the students can develop listening and speaking skills related to the academic curriculum. Extended responses are encouraged rather than single-word responses.

10. Standards for classroom behavior are explicit. Rules, procedures and consequences are planned ahead. Standards are consistent. Equitable discipline is applied to all students. Disciplinary action focuses on behavior not on the person.

11. Personal interaction between teacher and students is positive. Teachers pay attention to the students as persons, keeping in mind that the students are learning alot more than the subject matter. In the classroom they are developing attitudes about themselves and about the world.

12. Parents are considered as partners in the instructional program. Parents are provided with various options for getting involved with the school. There is a positive relationship between home and school.

(This is a partial list of effective practices, readers are directed to the following sources: North West Laboratory, n.d; Council on Basic Education; California Assembly Office of Research, 1985; Lily Wong Fillmore, 1985).

Extensive research has been completed that can guide standards for teachers of language minority students. The above list complements the Basic Principles for the Education of Language Minority Students (California State Department of Education, 1982). The principles, which follow, are syntheses of the research specifically on teaching and learning of children who come from homes where other than English may be spoken. Text is quoted from the above document.

Principle One: For bilingual students the degree to which proficiencies in both L1 and L2 are developed is positively associated with academic achievement

"This principle implies that, if the academic goals of educational programs for language minority students are to be met, proficient bilingualism must be achieved. Some may argue that minority language development should be the responsibility of the home and not the school and that partial bilingualism (i.e., full English proficiency with perhaps conversaitonal skills in the home language) is more appropriate public policy. However it seems apparent that, for the overhelming majority of language minority students in the United States, the result of such policy is limited bilingualism and eduational failure." (p.7)

Principle two: Language proficiency is the ability to use language for both academic purposes and basic communication tasks.

"Principles one and two suggest that, to meet he established goals of the educational program, educators must aid language minority pupils to develop both communicative and academic language skills in English and in their primary language." (p.9) The question of whether the education of language minority students would take twice as long if they have to receive instruction in both languages is answered by the next principle.

Principle three: For language minority students the development of the primary language skills necessary to complete academic tasks forms the basis for similar proficiency in English.

This principle is based on the theory of the common underlying proficiency which shows that skills and concepts and skills learned in one language can be evidenced in the second. Therefore instruction can more efficiently be provided to a student through his/her strongest language. (Studies show a direct relationship between bilinguals academic skills in the primary language and those the second language. The strong readers in language A will also become strong readers in language B. Conversely, students who are poor readers in their first language will be poor readers in the second. Evidence is also provided by the studies comparing the age of arrival and the rate of acquisition of second language skills. Older students are more efficient learners of a language, in cognitively demanding skills, than the younger learners. A third type of evidence of the underlying proficiency theory comes from the higher measures of English acquired by children receiving less instruction in English than their control group. This finding suggests the "development of the common underlying proficiency through the vehicle of the primary language." (p 11).

Principle Four: Acquisition of basic communicative competency in a second language is a function of comprehensible second language input and a supportive affective environment.

This principle gives guidance to the way second language learning and acquisition may be promoted in the classroom.

Principle Five: The perceived status of students affects the interactions between teaches and students and among the students themselves. In turn, student outcomes are affected.

This principle addresses the notion that a possible explanation for the lower academic achievement of some groups than others may be based on the fact that they are treated differently by teachers and others. Drawing on the extensive research on the teacher expectation, and current research conducted in multi-ethnic group classrooms, this principle

points out the importance of a supportive environment and high expectations, as indicated in the list from the effective teaching characteristics, above.

How Many Well Trained Teachers are Needed in the Country?

The above section serves to show that the education field definitely has the knowledge for putting together an educational package that can be effective for language minority children. We shall now explore the teacher supply and need we have before us.

If we look only at California, a state that typifies the growing national concern for adequate teachers in the classrooms, we find projections for 110,000 new teachers will be needed between 1986 and 1991. The student population is expected to increase by 500,000 to 600,000, primarily in the elementary grades, during the next 5 years (Honig, 1985). This state projects a substantial part of the growth will be from recent immigrants from Latin America and Asia. A recent study, known as the Commons' Report, titled, Who Will Teach Our Children? found that California, "... home of one in ten Americans, now absorbs more than a quarter of the legal immigrants to the United States." (California Commission on the Teaching Profession, 1985, 10)

Table3shows the numbers of teachers in the system in California now. We also know that Los Angeles, where the Hispanic student population is 53% (Los Angeles Unified School District has a total minority populatio of 81.3%), has only 10% of its teachers from that ethnic group.

Table4 indicates that Los Angeles is not the only city with large numbers of Hispanics and low numbers of teachers from that group.

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Table 3

Totals and Percentages for Teachers of California Public Schools by Race Comparing 1967, 1977, 1979, 1985

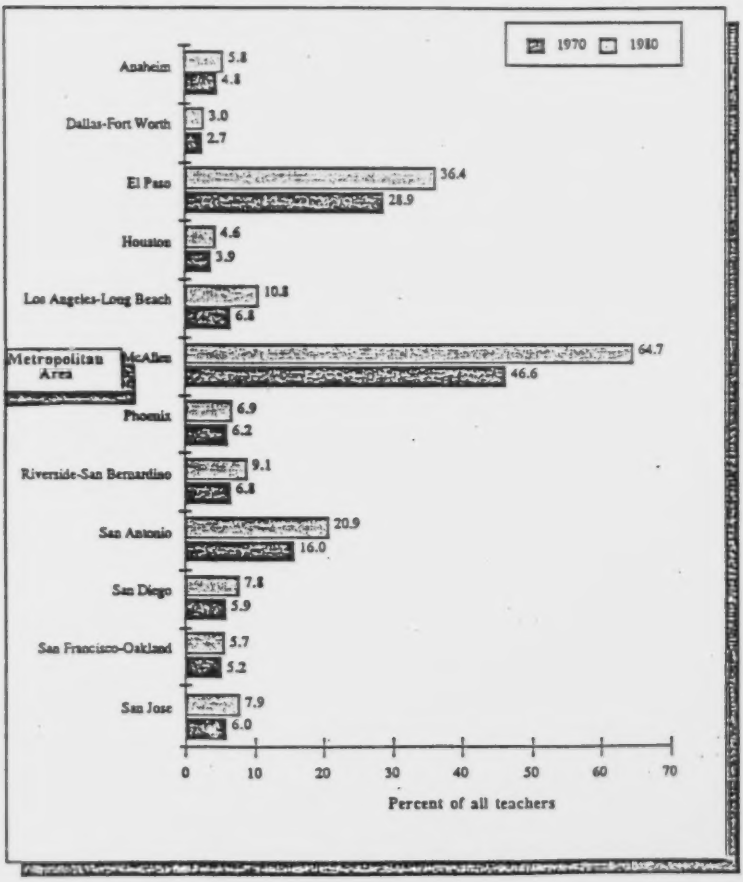
Classroom Teachers	Anglo	Black	Hispanic	Total
1967 Totals	163,523	8,137	4,189	179,852
(Percent)	(90.9)	(4.5)	(2.3)	(100)
1977 Totals	146,195	9,645	8,227	170,709
(Percent)	(85.6)	(5.6)	(4.8)	(100)
1979 Totals	139,813	10,367	9,205	166,440
(Percent)	(84.0)	(6.2)	(5.5)	(100)
1985 Totals*	152,122	11,840	11,929	185,022
(Percent)	(82.2)	(6.4)	(6.4)	(100)

This table was adapted from Foote, et. al., 1978, Table 15, page 35 and The California State Department of Education, 1979. (Figures in parentheses are percentages.) 1985 Data taken from CBEDS data base.

Taken from Richards, Employment Reform or Pupil Control?: Desegregation, Bilingualism and Hispanic Staffing in the California Public Schools, IFG, April 1982, p. 7.

TABLE 4

Representation of Hispanics among Teachers for selected metropolitan areas: 1970 & 1980



SOURCE: HISPANICS IN AMERICA, A SOURCEBOOK
THE TOMÁS RIVERA CENTER, 1985
A National Institute for Policy Studies

The bilingual teacher shortage, of course, is nested in the general teacher shortage prepared to teach in today's classrooms that have diversified language and multi-cultural student bodies.

The precise number of bilingual teachers needed in the country is difficult to ascertain. Studies published in 1981, estimated the need between 35,000 and 70,000. We know the demand has only increased. We can gain an appreciation for the size of this shortage by looking at this teacher demand and supply in particular states. In 1986, California, with a limited English student population of 525,000, had 5500 teachers of bilingual waivers (incomplete certificates of bilingual competence, Commission on Teacher Credentialling, 1986). The Texas Education Agency reports having authorized 612 emergency bilingual certificates in 1982-83, the number of openings expected in 1990-91, is estimated between 1,450 and 1,590 (Texas Education Agency, 1984;44). Other sources show Houston recruiting 700 bilingual teachers for 1986-87. Arizona reports having had 300 certified bilingual teachers in 1983, when the limited English student population was 90,000. By the year 2000, only 600 will be have received bilingual credentials at the current rate of college recruitment and training. However, with the projected ratio of 1 teacher for every 22 students, Arizona will need 6,490 bilingual teachers by the year 2000, when their limited English student population is expected to reach 141,000 (Arizona State Senator Gonzalez, 1986).

The current ways of drawing college students into the teaching field are obviously inadequate. The logical place to look for additional teachers among the population that is providing the largest increase in students. However, for the Hispanics, the current conditions of the educational system are simply not providing a pool with sufficient numbers. The dropout rate, as indicated above, is a shameful 50%. Those that do enter college are assaulted by attrition rates there. Finally, Hispanics that do graduate from college have many options. Moreover, recent national trends are creating new barriers for minorities interested in teaching--the certification tests.

Teacher certification tests are now required in some 30 states. These paper and pencil tests need to be passed before permits to teach are authorized. In some states, universities will not permit students to enroll in their teacher training courses without first passing these exams. This article will not dwell on the debate on teacher tests, but provide the results of one such test, that of the CBEST (California Basic Educaton Skills Test) Table 5 , to indicate that such tests can discourage many minority students from considering a teaching career.

Table 5

CBEST Pass Rates by Race

(N=23,023)

Whites	76%
American Indians	72%
Asian Americans	53%
Hispanics	40%
Mexican Americans	36%
Blacks	25%

Soruce: Policy Analysis for California Education (PACE), Conditions of Education in California, April 1984.

Nevertheless, schools have the students there, whether there are appropriately trained and certified teachers available or not. The emergency credential is the response of the districts. In an effort to improve the acknowledged problems of lack of effective teachers some states have passed legislation for mentor teachers. Others have combined mentor teachers with authorization for hiring teachers with no previous teacher educaton and having the districts provide that training on the job. Under such legislation (SB 813, 1983), Los Angeles hired 2500 instructors in the fall of 1985. New York City followed a similar practice. Informal reports of this massive force is that they were placed in the hard-to-staff schools, the minority impacted areas, and that they may not be the panacea desired. Where the instructor

is placed in a classroom with non-English speaking youngsters, a bilingual aide is provided. This is also the policy for staffing classrooms with teachers on waiver certificates. A teacher aide may have some college education, but most of the time only has a high school education, the level of pay being around $6.00/hr for a 3-hr, or 6-hr job. Therefore, the level of teaching available to those children cannot be expected to equal that provided by a trained teacher.

It is important to understand the depth of the problem created by insufficient numbers of teachers with appropriate training. **In Los Angeles it is possible for a limited English speaking child to go to school for the six years of elementary school and never be taught by a fully credentialled teacher.**

Recruitment and Training of Effective Teachers

By all indications the country is in dire need of effective teachers and they are needed in large numbers. Of particular urgency is to attract more bilinguals into the teaching field. As a country we have to do better than provide minority children with less than fully qualified instructors. If the United States is to avoid becoming a two-tier society we need to acknowledge that the inner city and the rural areas of this country require expectional teachers. These are the settings that have the lowest academic achievement rates and the highest dropout percentages. The rural areas have generally lower salaries for teachers than the urban areas. The inner city schools have the largest number of provisional teachers, the highest teacher absenteeism, the largest number of limited English students.

Standards in Teaching

In times of teacher shortages, standards are lowered. (California Commission on the Teaching Profession, 1985;37). Many unqualified people get teaching jobs and get tenure. Currently there are many thousands of emergency teachers in the classrooms across the nation. The public has an obligation to

see that those emergency teachers get adequate training. Standards ought to be drawn from the effective teachers research and from the principles for the education of language minority students (referred to in this article). All teachers should adhere to these standards.

It may appear quixotic to want higher standards for teachers when the profession does not even attract the numbers needed. However, it is urgent that the nation understand the relationship between the education of the students in schools now, and in the foreseeable future and its own well being. An example can be shown in terms of personal economics--the aging population and its demand on the education of the young. In the year 2000, for every two workers, one will be on retirement. Fifteen years ago, the ratio was 15 workers per each retiree. Supporting larger numbers of senior citizens requires still greater productivity gains, gains which are necessary throughout the entire population. (California Commission on the Teaching Profession, 1985; 11. Many students in Kindergarten in 1986 will be entering the work force in the year 2000, or maybe they will have already be employed in some way or perhaps they will be unemployable. The 1986 Kindergarten class of California is 50% language minority. In the same way many other inter-relationships can be shown. We must all understand that the quality of life of one groupis directly related to that of the others in this country.

A Necessary National Campaign

A national campaign is needed to address the critical role played by the classroom teacher. Education reforms are appearing all over the country and the public's attention is on the schools. But the public seems to think the problem is only of the schools or of the Hispanics or of the newest immigrants. The general public appears to think it's only a problem of learning

English. However, education research has shown us that the problem is bigger and more complex than that. Most of the Hispanics that don't finish school speak English as their dominant language, if they speak Spanish at all. The single most important problem is probably inappropriate early education, when Spanish was their primary language and initial instruction in Spanish would have given them a fair start in school. (Other articles in this volume discuss the pedagogical basis for first language education). The campaign to improve the schools must pull every resident of this country into personal involvement in these issues.

In the United States it appears that teaching has to become a status profession before it can attract positive attention by young people selecting a career. **Glamourous, heroic, lucrative, challenging, satisfying** are terms that come to mind with established status professions. Perhaps the campaign's public relations effort can use these terms to appeal to the pool being recruited. The campaign also would use these terms to address teachers and teaching as found at the present time. Immediately we see that the **lucre** component needs to be improved. Moreover, if teachers are helped to do a good job, if they are provided with better training and support (including the public's), and given smaller sized classes with higher aspiration curriculum and with higher pay, then the harried, frustrated, underpaid, image now frequently held would be eliminated. Teaching would then more likely be considered as a possible career.

The recruitment has to reach the students from the linguistic minority populations. The brightest of these students reaching the universities are being courted by many professions. Those with bilingual skills are invaluable to the business world, in medicine, in law, in the communications media, etc. Therefore, teaching as a career has to be promoted as early as elementary school. The public schools themselves should be asked to contribute ideas and participate in increasing the potential teacher

pool. For instance, children who have gained the taste of teaching through student-tutor roles might be encouraged to consider teaching as a career.

An additional source for teachers is among adults already in the work fofce. Many people are in jobs that pay well, but are not providing personal satisfaction. An appeal should be made to these individuals. However, in order to successfully acomplish raiding other professions teachers' salaries have to be competive. Additionally, potential teachers need to be very carefully trained before authorizing them sole responsibility for the instructional program of a classroom.

Finally, the teachers already in the school system who are considered highly effective with non-minority students should be encouraged to obtain the skills needed to work with language minority students. These teachers are usually personally secure individuals who don't feel threatened by the need to learn new skills. They see themselves as professionals who should be updating their knowledge and techniques. Having them involved with the education of language minority children would would offer a boost to these educators' own professional development. In turn, their participation would augment the number of effective teachers in the schools where many unprepared teaching personnel is now employed. Furthermore, the public, through these teachers' eyes, would be more likely to learn of the challenges and satisfactions of working these these students.

In sum, the campaign is to improve the schools in all its dimensions, to improve the quality of teaching to a level that every school in the nation can be considered an appropriately American center of learning, where the quality of education desirable for the children of the nation's leaders is accesible to the children of all its citizens.

Policy Recommendations

- The numerous studies that have been conducted on what's wrong with American education should now come together with what we do know about the teaching and learning of language minority students. The Department of Education should offer guidance to states for bridging those two fields of research.

- The public should be made aware that it in its own interest that the language minority students get quality education. The drop-out and low academic achievement problem should be seen as a national disease. Schools that suffer the greatest incidence should be staffed only by well trained teachers and they should be given society's attention. Teachers who are apathetic and those who do not hold high expectations of minority students should be considered an internal enemy to the national interest.

-Increasing the number of effective teachers should receive national media assistance. Recruitment should appeal particularly to bilingual individuals and others from ethnic minority backgrounds. Particular inticements, paid schooling, awards, etc. should be given to those who enroll in university programs preparing to work in bilingual education or for teaching children with non-standard English.

-In accordance to the importance of the teacher in the American society, teachers' salaries should be competive to those of other professions.

-Standards in teaching should include knowledge and professional competence in the following areas of educational concern to all children in general, but critical for language minority children: Language acquisition, individual differences, multicultural education, assessment of language development and assessment of academic achievement. Teacher training institutions should incorporate this knowledge and performance of these areas into their training program.

-In districts with teacher shortages, the low achievement schools should receive the bulk of the district's support in terms of the best qualified instructional personnel, operating budget, materials and support staff.

-The universities should be asked to participate in the national campaign to enhance schooling. Their contribution should be beyond acting as consultants. Academic departments should grant special awards for professors who will devote part of their time to working in the schools. The reward system for promotion in university settings should provide special recognition for work in schools. Participation of this sort should not be limited to scholars in education departments.

-The public should be asked to participate in the campaign directly. As with the university professors, representatives from industry can be incorporated into the instructional staff of schools in team teaching arrangements.

-Parents should be incorporated more directly into the educational structure of schools. Their presence will be a boon to schooling in limitless ways. One example of the benefits is that parents' participation, as with that of industry and academia, will regenerate the teachers who often feel alone with a little understood world, that of the American public classroom.

-Bilingual education should be seen as a pedagogical approach. It must be understood as the appropriate introduction to formal schooling for those students who come to the school door with limited English language skills. (This approach will permit a solid bridge to English instruction. First language skills will augment the child's ability to profit from school while learning English. School will not begin as a frustrating, traumatic, place where he/she receives instruction in an unknown language. Bilingual education does not retard the learning of English.)

Congress should continue supporting Bilingual Education.

Special effort should be given to teacher training. Standards in the teaching of language minority students should be enforced. Of particular concern is the effective implementation of bilingual education methodology with limited English speaking students.

-Bilingual education should become widely available for English speaking students. For this youngsters it would be an enhancement of the schooling now offered. For many students it would be a boost to their potential capabilities.

Knowledge will forever govern ignorance; and a people who mean to be their own governors must arm themselves with the power which knowledge gives.

-James Madison, 1751-1836

Letter of August 4, 1982, to Lieutenant Governor Barry of Kentucky

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PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT IN BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Dr. Pepe Barron

El Congreso Nacional de Asuntos Colegiales

"Our children come first. Excellence in Education must begin in our homes and neighborhood schools. It is the responsibility of every parent and teacher and the right of every parent and teacher and the right of every student. It is time to put the parents back in charge". President Reagan, in his State of the Union Address, 1984.

To understand parental involvement in the educational process in the United States, we must explore how it came about.

In 1924 the Supreme Court ruled that parents have the direct right to direct the education of their children. (The Right of Parents, 1977-78)

In 1965 (twenty years ago) the study, "The Invisible Minority", (NEA Publication 1966) found that more than half of the Hispanic population 14 years of age and older had not gone beyond the eighth grade and only 48% to 52% had completed one or more years of high school. (The Invisible Minority, 1966, pp 6-7).

Herschel T. Manuel in his book Spanish Speaking Children of the Southwest: Their Education and the Public Welfare, reports that 48.5% of the males and 52% of the females of the total Spanish surnamed population completed high school. Dr. Manuel reveals that Spanish surnamed parents were almost non existent in PTA organizations.

Equally appalling, in 1974 (9 years later), the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights found that 40% of all students in the Southwest would fail to graduate from high school. ("Toward Quality Education for Mexican Americans; A report of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights", c1974, p. 69).

Ten years later, (1984-85), the National Commission on Secondary Schooling for Hispanics in a publication, "Make Something Happen: Hispanics and Urban School Reform", found that 40% of all Hispanic students who leave school, do so before reaching the 10th grade and that 45% of Mexican American and Puerto Rican students who enter high school, never finish.

It is therefore no wonder that approximately 70% of Hispanic parents with children presently enrolled in the educations systems throughout the country, never finished high school. In addition to the large increase in the number of single families. i.e. 55% of Puerto Rican children live in single-parent, female headed households. These parents are for the most part, young and low income persons with little knowledge of the English language and they are uneducated. A large percentage of these parents are not U. S. born. These individuals have no knowledge of that educational system - a system not able to serve them or meet their needs - the consequence hence, is that these parents have great difficulty in guiding their children in their selection of schools and academic choices in general.

No adult is truly civilized unless she or he is acquainted with the civilization of which they are members. The schools of 100 years ago are no longer adequately providing even this most basic and minimum of instruction. Our educational system fails even to prepare individuals to actively participate in common daily activities because it is common knowledge that there are 23 million adults who are functionally illiterate. In addition, 13% of all 17 year olds in the United States are functionally illiterate and illiteracy among minority youth runs as high as 40%. (The Nation at Risk), U. S. Government Printing Office, c1983.

In 1981, the U. S. Department of Education funded a study to research the level of parental involvement in federal programs. The result was a series of publications. The following are from that series: "Parents and Federal Education Programs" Vol. I, Title VII and "The Nature, Course, and Consequences of Parental Involvement" Vol. IV, Title VII which was conducted by Systems Development Corporation under contract # HEW 300 78 0437.

The findings of the report depict an educational system which for the most part ignores parents in the educational delivery to their children. In fact, because of prevalent practices, a number of administrators, teachers, and board members have an attitude that decisons should be made by professionals only and that parents should only play a peripheral role.

The study carried out by Systems Development Corporation (SDC) examined four federal programs; ESEA Title I, ESEA Title VII, Emergency School Aid Act and Follow Through. The study address three objectives in the aforementioned report:

- The nature of parental involvement, and types and level of participation
- The factors that facilitated or inhibited parental involvement and,
- Consequences of parental involvement and field observations.

Some of the findings are the following:

- Mandated project advisory groups were the only vehicle by which parents were involved in project decision making.

- Seventeen advisory groups had major involvement in project decision making; twenty two had token involvement and seventeen had no involvement at all.

Contributing factors:

- The existence of a mandate in federal legislation or regulations
- Parents taking on a leadership role

Inhibiting factors:

- Imprecise and ambiguous federal regulations for advisory groups
- Parent training that was limited to description of a program
- Parental involvement in instruction

Field Observations:

- Very few projects sponsored efforts at obtaining parent instructional volunteers
- Systematic home tutoring was rare
- Parents who served as classroom aides or volunteers usually played an important instructional role

Contributing factors:

- Home tutoring succeeded because of supportive staff
- Informal hiring methods led to many parents getting those positions

Inhibiting factors:

- A lack of attention to a parental role in instruction in federal regulations
- District policies to allow aides to maintain their positions

Parent Education as Parental Involvement

Field observations:

- Relatively few parents participated in parent education offerings
- Parents seldom were active in planning parent education

Contributing factors:

- A belief on the part of project personnel that parents needed assistance in getting along in society
- Parent education was a useful mechanism for drawing parents into the project and its other activities

Inhibiting factors:

- The absence of a mandate in federal regulations for parent education programs
- Project parent education offerings often redundant with offerings in other organizations

Parent Involvement in School Support

- Few projects had formal school support programs

Contributing factors:

- The ad-hoc involvement was the initiative taken by individual parents

Inhibiting factors:

- The absence of a regulatory mandate
- The lack of attention to this facet of the program

Parental Involvement and Home/School Relations

Field Observations:

- Opportunities for parents and staff members to interact on a face-to-face basis were uncommon

Contributing factors:

- Project personnel felt it was important to keep parents informed

Inhibiting factors:

- Staff members disinterest in feed-back from parents
- Absence of a mandate in federal regulations

Consequences of Parental Involvement Activities

- Very few cases of alterations in a district or school operating procedures that could be traced to parental input
- Participating parents became more comfortable in the school and better able to deal with professionals and with the workings of the educational system.
- Offered their services more frequently

The most significant conclusions of this study relative to parental involvement are the following:

The better projects had more parental involvement, projects that offered well planned services for students were well organized and were most efficiently run thus, these were the projects which had the highest levels of parental participation.

Parents and Federal Education Programs

Volume 4: Title VII

Under the sponsorship of the U. S. Department of Education, Systems Development Corporation (SDC) conducted a multi-stage study of parental involvement to provide detailed informationon the causes and consequences of parental involvement activities in 13 school districts in the nation conducting Title VII projects.

This report promulgates the findings of the study. It covers five areas in considerable detail.

The five areas are: Governance, Instruction, Parent Education, School Support and Community School Relations.

• The major findings in the specific areas follows. .

Parental Involvement in Project Governance

- The data revealed three distinct patterns of Community Advisory Committee (CAC) involvement in governance: (1) no involvement (2) token involvement and (3) advise/decide involvement

- No training was offered in governance skills in order to assist parents in this area. The learning in the decision making process was placed entirely on the parents.

The report goes on to say that federal legislation and regulations are not precise concerning the role of parents, that SEA's have not developed guidelines for parental involvement, they found no systematic method of monitoring projects or providing technical assistance and that little training was provided for CAC's to develop skills in group process and leadership.

Parental Involvement in Title VII Instructional Process

- Title VII projects did not make a special effort to involve parents as paid instructional aides.
- Very few Title VII projects had initiated systematic components of parental participation as instructional volunteers, thus the opportunity was very limited.

It is evident from these reports that projects did not emphasize the recruitment of parents or any tangible assistance in any of the areas outlined by the studies. It is important to note however, that wherever staff created a specific place for parental involvement, the parents responded positively.

Educators have not accepted the challenge in bilingual education to involve the broader community by actively including bilingual parents in policy-making processes. They remain unwilling to accept the validity of parents contributions to the educational system, thereby depriving students and parents of the learning benefits from well planned community-based activities.

School personnel out of necessity, must use bilingual parents as teacher aides to fill para-professional positions. The lack of adequate training for parents who most often are the parents of the bilingual students, merely reflects negative attitudes of school personnel towards involving parents in their educational delivery.

On behalf of all those parents who are willing and able to be part of making this a better country, we are offering the following recommendations:

- That a national parent training resource center be established with responsibility to teach the following competencies:

1. Knowledge about the philosophy of bilingual education. This will include knowledge of the what, why, and how of bilingual programs; the various roles parents can have; the characteristics of children involved; and knowledge of the rules, regulations, and guidelines that govern bilingual education.
2. Knowledge about bilingual education practices, techniques and methodology.
3. Knowledge about parental and community involvement in bilingual programs.
4. Knowledge about program planning, organization, implementation, and evaluation.
5. Knowledge of specific ways parents can become involved in programs.
6. Knowledge about the policy and decision-making processes of the school.
7. Specific information on how parents can influence the decision-making processes of the school.
8. Knowledge on how to become informed and effective participants in school affairs.
9. Knowledge on specific curriculum areas in bilingual programs—what is involved in teaching bilingually.
10. Training in specific teaching metholoIodgy in the content areas.
11. Training in the use of materials in bilingual education.
12. Training in small group and individualized instruction techniques.
13. Training in positive reinforcement techniques in the development of positive self-concepts.
14. Training in the various models of bilingual education.
15. Training in group dynamics, conflict resolution, communication techniques, and leadership skills.
16. Training in multicultural awareness.
17. Training in school law, education code regulations, and legal rights of parents.
18. Training in parliamentary procedures.

19. Training in school budgeting and finance.

- Federal regulations must be precise about parental involvement
- States should be required to have precise regulations about adult parental involvement
- Regulations should provide incentives for encouraging parental involvement
- All projects should have an organized training program to prepare parents for active project positions
- Establish a developmental component (involving parents) to reduce the appalling student drout-out rates
- All persons teaching in Title VII projects should be required to meet and demonstrate language capability of the target group
- Policy to ensure that all limited English proficient students attain proficiency in English and full subject matter to meet grade promotion and graduation standards
- Propose and support additional appropriations for parental training purposes
- Enforce the 1984 selection criteria that all bilingual project personnel meet target language competency and also to meet academic standards in an academic discipline and award adequate criteria points for such competencies in all sections of the Title VII program.
- Support the expansion of appropriations in The Family English Literacy Program
- Support additonal appropriation for the Bilingual Education: Short Training Program section where parents are eligible to enter training
- School board should set aside resources within districts for parent participation and training
- Support additonal appropriations to provide special funds specifically for needed research such as:
    a) Parent/school liaison personnel
    b) Parents as tutors
    c) Parents as teacher aides
    d) Parents and school boards of education
    e) Parents and the influence on school retention and school completion
- That the size of bilingual classes be limited to 25 students
- That the bilingual instructor for students whose primary language is not English, be proficient in that target language
- Establish and maintain compliance of all federal rules and regulations relative to every section of the Bilingual Education Act.

The intent of the parent involvement requirement in the amended legislation of the Bilingual Education Act is to encourage parents to become actively involved in the formal education of their youth. Therefore, the aforementioned statements and

recommendations are made with the same intent; these recommendatins are made on the basis of our parent training experience. Some recommendations are for corrective action which we believe necessary if equal education opportunity for bilingual students is to be achieved.

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Dr. Jose "Pepe" Barron is the Executive Director of El Congreso Nacional de Asuntos Colegiales (CONAC) which is headquartered in Washington, D.C. The organization was founded in 1976 for the purpose of addressing the needs of Hispanic populations in community colleges specifically and the public education system in general. Dr. Barron has published on several topics of interest to educators, administrators and parents. He has been an administrator and professor in universities and community colleges. He has held teaching and administrative fellowships in Central, South America and Spain. Dr. Barron has been on the NABE Executive Board and currently serves as President of the Consortium of National Hispanic Organizations, based in Washington, D.C. Over the last several years, Dr. Barron has held Title VII contracts to train parents in leadership techniques and involvement with public school systems.

Arnold H. Leibowitz, Counselor at Law, presently lives in Washington, D.C., and has kindly consented to us permission to reprint an excerpt from a monograph which he wrote in 1971. The historical examination is not dated and is still important in the purpose of the bilingual education debate. His original monograph is entitled: "Educational Policy and Political Acceptance: The Imposition of English as the Language of Instruction in American Schools". The full text was published by the Educatitonal Resources Information Center (ERIC) Clearinghouse for Linguistics. The full text included chapters on: Introduction; German-Americans; Japanese-Americans; Mexican-Americans; American Indians; and, Puerto Rican-Americans. Here we reprint the chapters on: Bilingual Education Act and Conclusions.

BILINGUAL EDUCATION ACT

By 1967 when the Federal government for the first time, by its passage of the Bilingual Education Act, suggested the permissibility--even the desirability--of instruction in the native language, the political context had substantially changed. The Executive and Legislative Branches had both come out rather strongly for civil rights and focused on the deprivations suffered by various minority groups. The wave of ethnic nationalism which accompanied the civil rights movement and social changes in the '60's no longer required Spanish-speaking parents to remain mute or to soften their desire that the Spanish language be given a more meaningful role in their children's education.

The 1960 Census 227/ counted the Spanish-surnamed population in the five Southwestern states of Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico and Texas, and the figures were indeed significant. The total Spanish-surnamed population had increased more than 50 percent over the 1950 totals: to 3,464,999 from 2,281,710. The 1960 figures from Texas

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227/ The 1930 Census identified "Mexicans" (persons of Spanish colonial descent) as a racial classification. In 1940, on the basis of a five percent sample, the Census counted persons speaking Spanish as the mother tongue. The 1950 and 1960 Censuses, on the basis of a 20 percent and 25 percent sample respectively, identified the Spanish-surnamed populace in the five Southwestern states. These states had accounted for more than 80 percent of all persons with Spanish as the mother tongue.

showed that the Spanish-surnamed population was 1,417,810 out of a total population of 9.5 million people, or almost 15 percent of that total. California had the largest Spanish-surnamed population, 1,426,538, a figure which showed a 87.6 percent increase over 1950.

In the other Southwestern states (Arizona, New Mexico, and Colorado) the Spanish-surnamed population was also identified and was in all cases approximately 10 percent or more. 228/ On the East Coast, although not as numerically significant, there was a large number of Puerto Ricans--over 600,000 in New York City and, by 1966, almost 21% of the total public school population of that city 229/--for whom Spanish was the native tongue.

The Federal government and the individual states had begun to respond to this increased constituency. For example, in 1965 the Federal government established the Interagency

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228/ The precise figures as of 1960 for these latter three states are: Arizona: 194,356 Spanish-surnamed out of a total population of 1,302,161; New Mexico: 269,122 out of a total population of 951,023; and Colorado: 157,173 out of a total population of 1,753,050.

229/ Hearings before the Sen. Special Subcommittee on Bilingual Education of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare 90th Cong., 1st Sess., 75 (1967) (Hereinafter cited as Sen. Hearings, Bilingual Education).

Committee on Mexican-American Affairs 230/ to concern itself with Mexican-American issues, and on July 1, 1967, a Mexican Affairs Unit began to function within the United States Office of Education. Within the next few years the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission published its first study of Mexican-Americans, Spanish-Surnamed American Employment in the Southwest, the U. S. Civil Rights Commission held its first hearings on Mexican-Americans and published its first report "Mexican-Americans and the Administration of Justice in the Southwest," and the Congress in the Voting Rights Act of 1965 permitted the suspension of literacy tests as a condition of voting where past performance indicated discriminatory administration of the test 231/ or where the voter had completed the sixth grade in an American school where the language of instruction was other than English. 232/ In extending the Act five years later, Congress in 1970 suspended literacy test altogether. 233/

230/ The Nixon Administration expanded its jurisdiction and renamed it the Cabinet Committee on Opportunity for the Spanish-Speaking.

231/ Upheld by the Supreme Court in South Carolina v. Katzenbach 383 U.S. 301 (1966).

232/ For practical purposes only those students who studied in Puerto Rico were affected. The provision was upheld by the Supreme Court in Katzenbach v. Morgan 384 U.S. 641 (1966) rev'g 247 F Supp. 196 (D.D.C. 1965). See also U.S. v. County Board of Elections 248 F. Supp. 316 (W.D.N.Y. 1965).

233/ This action of the Congress was sustained by the Supreme Court. U.S. v. Arizona ___U.S.___(Dec. 21, 1970); Oregon v. Mitchell ___U.S.___(Dec. 21, 1970).

At the local level the New York City Board of Education in 1958 published its comprehensive Puerto Rican Study dealing with the difficulties encountered by these native Spanish-speaking pupils in the New York school system. 234/ The Texas Education Agency in 1965 investigated the problem of the pupils in the Texas schools having Spanish-surnames and Colorado published in 1967 a general study of the status of the Spanish-surnamed population in that state. 235/

As the state studies show, education was in the forefront of the concern of the Spanish-speaking. The 1960 Census statistics on the educational level of the Spanish-surnamed students in the five Southwestern states showed that Mexican-American children had completed an average of 8.12 years as compared to the White American average of more than 14 years of schooling. The high drop-out rate that these statistics evidenced caused great concern.

Moreover, educational theory had changed. Quite apart from the political developments mentioned above, there was an increasing interest in introducing foreign language programs in elementary schools. This activity was assisted by a series of government grants under the National Defense Education Act, passed in 1958 in response to the Russian launching of Sputnik. Title VI and--later--Title XI of

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234/ New York City Board of Education, Puerto Rican Study 1953-1957, (1958).

235/ Colorado Commission on Spanish Citizens, The Status of Spanish-Surnamed Citizens in Colorado (1967).

that Act emphasized the retention and expansion of our foreign language resources. This renewed interest in foreign languages and foreign language teaching enabled new groups such as ACTFL (American Council for the Teaching of Foreign Languages) and TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages) to assert themselves in educational circles.

The powerful National Education Association (NEA) in late 1966 sponsored a conference on the education of Spanish-speaking children in the schools of the southwest which led to the publication of NEA's report entitled "The Invisible Minority, Pero No Vencibles." This report strongly recommended instruction in Spanish for those children who speak Spanish as a native tongue. In April 1967, at the Texas conference for the Mexican-American at San Antonio, demonstrations were given of the work of bilingual and English as a second language program already established in a few elementary schools in Texas. One of the major conclusions of the conference was the need for bilingual education with a call to the Federal government to assume an important part of this responsibility.

These educational forces also conjoined to discredit the idea that instruction in English and American values and patriotism were inextricably linked although this view continued to be voiced at the hearings on the Bilingual Education Act, even by avowed advocates of the new law.

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The climax of these efforts was reached when, in 1967, Senator Ralph Yarborough of Texas introduced a bill 236/ to amend existing elementary and secondary education act legislation to provide assistance to local educational agencies in support of bilingual education programs. Bilingual education was defined as the use of non-English mother tongue as a medium of instruction (together with English) in all or a significant portion of the regular school curriculum. Senator Yarborough's bill was limited to assisting the Spanish-surnamed populace only.

Although the Office of Education was at first reluctant to support new legislation for bilingual education, taking the position that this problem could be handled through existing statutes, especially Titles I and Title II of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, it finally advocated the bilingual bills. In the House of Representatives at about the same time a number of similar bills advocating bilingual education were introduced, most notably by Congressmen Augustus Hawkins and Edward Roybal of California and Congressman Jerome Scheuer of New York. 237/

236/ S. 428. in Sen. Hearings, Bilingual Education.

237/ Bilingual Education Programs, House of Rep., Hearings before the House General Subcommittee on Education of the Committee on Education and Labor on Bilingual Education Programs 90th Cong., 1st Sess. (1967). (Hereinafter cited as House Hearings, Bilingual Programs.).

The Hawkins/Roybal bill expanded on the Yarborough bill to include assistance to the French-speaking as well, and the Scheuer bill authorized bilingual instruction to all children whose native tongue was not English.

The changed political and moral situation can be seen in the opening speeches of the sponsors of the legislation in the Senate, Senator Yarborough and Senator Paul Fannin. Much of the rhetoric--"disadvantaged" and "discrimination"--arose from the broader aspects of the civil rights movement and the number of people affected was immediately noted.

> Mr. Yarborough. Mr. President, in the southwestern part of the United States--bordered by my State of Texas on the east, California on the west, and reaching to Colorado in the north--there exists, as in the rest of the country, a folklore that we have achieved equality of economic opportunity, that everyone has an equal chance to get ahead.
>
> The reality lurking under this belief is that for a group of 3,465,000 persons, 12 percent of the population of the Southwestern States, equality of economic opportunity awaits the future. It is a myth, and not a reality, today for the Mexican-Americans of the Southwest. . . .
>
> I believe the time has come when we can no longer ignore the fact that 12 percent of the people of the Southwestern United States do not have equal access with the rest of the population to economic advancement. The time has come when we must do something about the poor schooling, low health standards, job discrimination, and the many other artificial barriers that stand in the way of the advancement of the Mexican-American people along the road to economic equality. 238/

238/ Sen. Hearings, Bilingual Education 16-17.

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> Mr. Fannin. I need not remind any member of this special subcommittee that to overcome, educationally, the effects of a disadvantaged childhood is a formidable task. But to rise above the combined effects of a disadvantaged youth and a language barrier is for many children an educational impossibility. 239/

But the broader political context is most clearly seen in the way representatives of the Executive Branch stated the goal of education:

> Brief references to two documents, 184 years apart in our history, should suffice on this point. The earlier document, the Bill of Rights of the Constitution, is unequivocally emphatic about the primacy and dignity of the individual as opposed to the power of the state. Justice Brandeis has epitomized this emphasis in the Olmstead Case: 'The makers of the Constitution...sought to protect Americans in their beliefs, their thoughts, their emotions and their sensations. They conferred, as against the Government, the right to be let alone, the most comprehensive of rights and the right most valued by civilized men.'
>
> The second document, published in 1960 as Goals for Americans, contains the Report of President Eisenhower's Commission on National Goals together with certain essays on the same subject. Henry Wriston, chairman of the Commission, reminds us that human dignity is the basic value of freedom, that dignity does not consist in being well-housed, well-clothed and well-fed. And he goes on to say 'that it rests exclusively upon the lively faith that individuals are beings of infinite value.'

239/ Id. at 14.

> Some educational corollaries emerge from the above statement and restatements of principles:
>
> 1. If the first goal of education is individual self-fulfillment, all other goals, however important, such as preparation for citizenship, preparation for 'the world of work,' and assimilation to the 'mainstream of American life,' become secondary....
>
> 2. The child's parents and the child himself must have the major voice in determining what his education should be.
>
> So we see that the 'right to be let alone' places self-fulfillment, self-determined, at the peak of all the desiderata of education. 240/

Within this broadly stated goal theoretical educational support for the bilingual program was relatively easy to come by. The need to change the existing system was the most frequently heard theme of the testimony. The most important statistics in this regard were the drop-out rate for Mexican-Americans and the failure of many Spanish-speaking children to attend school.

> In education, as measured in median number of years completed by the adult population, the Spanish-American ranks as low as, or below, any other ethnic group identified and tabulated by the Census except the American Indian woman.
>
> Among adults 25 and over, Mexican-Americans in 1960 had an average of 7.1 years of schooling as compared to the 12.1 years for Anglos, and 9 for non-whites. The gap between Anglos and Mexican-Americans is 5 years or 41 percent.
>
> It can be said, however, that things are getting a little better. Some educators have become aware of the harm done to Spanish-speaking

240/ Statement of D. Bruce Gaarder, Chief, Modern Language Section, U.S. Office of Education in House Hearings, Bilingual Programs 351.

> children by forbidding them the use of Spanish and as a result some schools are experimenting with new and imaginative ways of educating Spanish-speaking children in a predominantly English-speaking society....
>
> Some of this improvement shows up in the statistics for a younger generation of Spanish-speaking students. For the age group 14 to 24, Mexican-Americans have completed 9.2 years of school on the average, compared to 11.3 for Anglos and 10.6 for nonwhites. This is still a very large gap of 2.1 years or 19 percent.
>
> The psychological damage suffered under a discriminatory educational system shows up in test scores. 241/ _ _ _
>
> In our situation in Texas...we find that the statistics show that 20 percent of[Mexican-Americans] them between the ages of 5 and 15 are not enrolled in school. The general reason for this is that they are in no way able to overcome their linguistic handicap and carry on their regular schoolwork in English--the language of the school and a foreign language to them. 242/

Although a list of schools where bilingual education was in effect was submitted to the Congress during the hearings, the statistical data to measure the educational advantages or disadvantages of these innovations were not available. The question of what beneficial effects instruction in the

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241/ Statement of Hon. Paul J. Fannin, Sen. Hearings, Bilingual Education 17.

242/ Statement of Dr. Faye L.Bumpass, Id. at 60.

native tongue would have on the dropout rate or other educational desiderata could not be answered.

Some testimony noted that instruction in the native language would result in greater information than instruction in English alone, citing a 1925 Columbia Teachers College study performed in Puerto Rico in very different circumstances as noted earlier in this essay.

> The Columbia University group gave 69,000 and more tests all over the island [Puerto Rico] to make a comparison between what the children learned through English, which was a foreign language to them, and what they learned through Spanish, their native tongue. Using the Stanford achievement tests in English and Spanish versions, it was possible to compare the Puerto Rico children's achievement with that of children in the 48 States. In comparison with children in the continental United States on tests of reading, arithmetic, language, and spelling, very carefully conducted by the best people in the United States to do it, the Puerto Ricans' achievement through English showed them to be markedly retarded. That is what happens in Texas, too, and New Mexico. . . . The Puerto Rican children's achievements through Spanish was, by and large, markedly superior to that of continental U. S. children who were using their own mother tongue, English. They were superior in much the same degree that they were inferior when trying to learn through English. I am speaking about Puerto Rican children, who speak Spanish natively. 243/

243/ Statement of Dr. A. Bruce Gaarder, Id. at 49.

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On the more difficult question whether instruction in the native tongue eventually made adjustment in English easier only one study was cited:

> I will describe very briefly the work of Dr. N. Modiano working through New York University in Chiapas, Mexico, an area where there are a number of indigenous Mexican languages spoken as opposed to Spanish, the national language of Mexico.
>
> The object of the Modiano research was to determine whether children in Chiapas learned Spanish best, learned to read Spanish more easily and effectively by hammering directly on Spanish exclusively, or whether they would learn Spanish more easily if they approached it through the mother tongue--in this case Tzeltal and Tzotzil, two of the languages of Chiapas. And as you will read here later, the research shows unquestionably that the children who first studied and first learned to read in their mother tongue did far superior work in their reading of Spanish when they were later examined and tested in Spanish. 244/

244/ Id. at 48.

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Educators who approached the problem as one of retention of our language resources did not have to meet the issue of the effect on general information or to compare bilingual education with teaching in English only. But what they did emphasize was that bilingualism or multi-lingualism meant pluralistic cultural patterns as well:

> All in all, cultural and linguistic diversity must be publicly recognized, publicly discussed, and publicly supported if language maintenance is to be quickly, fully, and effectively reinforced. Appeals on behalf of such diversity can be supported by reference to American values, tradition, and history. As a possibly vital and creative force in American life, cultural diversity has all too long been ignored or given only apologetic and embarrassed glances. If language maintenance is to be seriously pursued in the future, public rehabilitation of this topic will be necessary. Bilingualism does not exist in a vacuum. Nor does it exist in a school. It exists in the context of ethnic, religious, and cultural differences. It cannot be supported on a national scale without supporting biculturism. Biculturism requires awareness of one's heritage, identification with it--at least on a selective basis--and freedom to express this identification in a natural and uninhibited manner. It can only be enriching for our country to discover that the languages which have recently been brought to our attention are inextricably related to diverse behavioral patterns and behavioral products which can be every bit as acceptable and as valuable as the languages themselves. The languages can only function in conjuction with meaningful patrimonies. Intimately meaningful patrimonies can only enrich America and the lives of its citizens. 245/

245/ Statement of Dr. Joshua Fishman, Id. at 125. See also Boyer, Texas Squanders Non-English Resources, Id. at 675.

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The voices from the past were also present. Even as they saw the problem and advocated the new laws they reaffirmed the need for English:

> Sen. Fannin...And I am also concerned, in your statement on page 4--I say 'concerned,' but I just want to emphasize it--where you say 'The Schools of El Paso and'--is that Ysleta--
>
> Senator Yarborough. Ysleta.
>
> Senator Fannin (continuing). 'Area have established a language center where pilot programs are being conducted in English as a second language,' do you feel that we should always consider English as the primary language in our instructional programs throughout the Nation?
>
> Mr. Howe. Well, I think that we ought to work toward a position where youngsters have as much capability in English as possibly can be developed. I do think we have to take youngsters where they are. In other words, if a youngster comes to school speaking Spanish, I think we have to speak Spanish to him.
>
> Senator Fannin. Yes. 246/
>
> . . .
>
> Senator Fannin. Of course, all of this teaching is to acquire English as a primary language eventually.
>
> Dr. Bumpass. Yes.
>
> Senator Fannin. And then have the Spanish as a secondary language and certainly as a very valuable asset to the students.
>
> Dr. Bumpass. Yes. 247/
>
> . . .

246/ Id. 42-43. See also Cong. de La Garza's comments. Id. 286.

247/ Id. at 64.

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> Senator Fannin. Well, I agree with you that a great deal can be done in this regard. Of course, I feel that if we motivate these children--and we must motivate them by letting them have the opportunity to learn the skills that will give them confidence, and that, of course, involves a good utilization of the English language.
>
> Mr. Monserrat. Absolutely.
>
> Senator Fannin. So I am very strong in my opinion that we should not let them lack in their training in this regard. And I am concerned that perhaps when we do attempt to overcome this problem, that we must be very careful or we will create another problem; that they will not see the great need for learning the English language. 248/

Since the passage of the Act to December 1970 134 projects using 16 languages have received funding: thirteen Indian projects; five French; two Chinese; one Japanese; three Portuguese; one Eskimo; one Russian, and the remainder Spanish-speaking. The extent and intensity of use of the native tongue varies considerably from project to project. English is included in some phase of all of them. 249/

We can expect the pressure for bilingual education to continue. The Senate Special Subcommittee on Indian Education, in its report mentioned earlier in this essay, called for instruction in the Indian language, and the appendix to the U. S. Civil Rights Commission, draft report entitled Cultural Exclusion of

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248/ Id. at 78-79.

249/ Thirteen additional bilingual education projects have been supported under the Education Profession's Development Act in addition to an unknown number initiated without federal funding. Information provided by Dr. A. Bruce Gaarder, U. S. Office of Education.

Mexican-Americans in the Schools of the Southwest makes a similar recommendation.

The response from the state governments so far has been relatively good. California, on May 24, 1967, passed a law authorizing bilingual instruction "when such instruction is educationally advantageous to the pupils--[if] it does not interfere with the systematic, sequential and regular instruction of all pupils in the English language." 250/ The New Mexico Legislature adopted in 1969 a law permitting any school district to set up "a bilingual and bicultural program of study." 251/

Arizona in 1969 passed legislation to permit school districts where pupils have English-language difficulties to provide special programs of bilingual instruction in the first three grades. In addition to Texas' provision for a special pre-school program for non-English-speaking childre, 252/

250/ Calif. Education Code, Sec. 71. Recently Chinese students sued to require instruction in Chinese in their public schools alleging English language instruction was unconstitutional as violative of the XIV Amendment. The lower court recognized the special need but found no constitutional right. Lau et. al. v. Nichols, Cir. No. C-70 627 LHB (D.C.N.D. Calif., May 26, 1970). The case is on appeal in the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit. Lau et. al. v. Nichols (9th Cir., No. 26155).

251/ N. Mex. Stats. Ann. 77-11-12 (1969).

252/ Tex. Rev. Cir. Stat. Ann., Art. 2654-1b (1965).

Texas revised its Education Code in 1969 253/ to permit school districts at their option to offer bilingual education. 254/

253/ Vernon's Anno. Tex. Stats. Education Code, Sec. 4.17 (1969).

254/ It was reported that in October 1970 a Mexican-American teacher in Crystal City, Texas, was indicted for teaching a high school class in Spanish contrary to the Texas Code. U. S. Commission on Civil Rights Draft Report II, Cultural Exclusion of Mexican-Americans in the Schools of the Southwest, Appendix C, A Legal and Historical Backdrop, p.XV (1971).

CONCLUSION

We have tried to show that the utilization of the English language as the language of instruction is the result of a decision reached on extra-educational grounds. Of course, the decision had an educational effect (as in the case of Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans) and was frequently designed to do so. But even when it did, it had an overriding political purpose and for that reason was coupled with discriminatory action of various kinds designed to suppress the minority group's normal development. In other cases the educational effect was clearly marginal or nonexistent (German-Americans, Japanese-Americans). What was important was the act of imposition itself which acted as a symbol to demonstrate official public hostility toward the particular group. Again, the educational policy was combined with other acts, both public and private: most notably, in the continental United States, segregation, to achieve the desired political result.

The imposition of the English language and the discriminatory action accompanying it arose quite naturally out of the limited concept of pluralism present in the United States during its expansionist years. Until recently distinctive language and cultural development based upon religious and racial differences were viewed with great hostility, and public actions to inhibit cultural development in other than

the preconceived mold were regarded as quite in order. 255/ The native language as a tool to teach English or as an adjunct to the public school system to assist in parental involvement, even given the limited goals envisioned, was rarely considered. There are only limited examples in the literature of discussion of the effect of English language instruction on the learning of neutral subject matter (i.e., math, reading).

255/ It is only fair to the reader to note at this point that Dr. Heinz Kloss, one of the leading scholars in the area of bilingualism, has concluded, quite contrary to the views expressed here, that the United States' legal norms have assisted in the preservation of ethnic identity in the schools and elsewhere:

> But as our study shows, the non-English ethnic groups in the U.S.A. were anglicized not <u>because</u> of nationality laws which were <u>unfavorable</u> towards their languages but <u>in spite</u> of nationality laws <u>favorable</u> to them. Not by legal provisions and measures of the authorities, not by the state did the nationalities become assimilated, but by the absorbing power of the unusually highly developed American Society. The nationalities could be given as many opportunities as possible to retain their identity, yet the achievements of the Anglo-American society and the possibilities for individual achievements and advancements which this society offered were so attractive that the descendants of the 'aliens' sooner or later voluntarily integrated themselves into this society.

H.Kloss, <u>Excerpts from the National Minority Laws of the U. S. of America</u> in East-West Center Institute of Advanced Projects, Occasional Papers of Research Translations 124 (1966). The complete original work is entitled <u>Das Nationalitatenrecht der Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika</u>(1963).

There are two opposing conclusions that can be reached from the failure of educators and educational theories to play a strong role in the English-language decisions we have discussed here. First, and most obvious, is that this is a failing and that it is to be hoped that in the future educators will assume a much stronger role. This would presuppose that, in fact, at various points educational theory would have been enlightening.

It is hard to judge whether this is, in fact, the case. There certainly was a good deal of information available in educational circles and some rather careful studies on the effectiveness of native language use in various situations, and this information was not brought to bear on the subject. 256/ However, even today a review of the literature would indicate serious differences of opinion on this issue. Although some educators have emphasized native tongue instruction almost, it would appear, to the exclusion of English, 257/ the trend is increasingly to look to better ways to teach English. In

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256/ The literature with respect to Indians is reviewed in Berry, op. cit. supra note 173, at 55-60; and L. Coombs, The Educational Disadvantage of the Indian American Student 60-64 (1970). It is discussed with respect to Mexican-Americans in T. Carter, Mexican-Americans in School: A History of Educational Neglect 49-53 (1970).

257/ E.g., N.E.A., supra note 147.

addition there appears to be some unanimity on the importance of stressing the cultural heritage and history of minority groups. However, whether instruction should be in the native language and what the effect of such instruction is on knowledge of basic subjects or English is less clear. 258/ This is partly because control situations (so that isolation of the effect of English language instruction can be demonstrated) are difficult to construct. Instruction in the native tongue may act as a selection mechanism for teachers, perhaps resulting in obtaining teachers who are more sympathetic and concerned. Or it may permit parents to take a more active role with consequent student benefits. 259/ The more studies that have been done the more complex the topic has appeared.

Some educators have noted the progressively larger divergence in achievement that occurs with age between the Indian child and White child who start out at the beginning of school approximately equal in achievement tests.

Some have noted a serious gap at the fifth grade and then at college entrance when language skills are becoming increasingly important. Others see at these junctures periods of conscious awakening of social differences leading to alienation and

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258/ Coombs, after a review of the literature which in general tends to favor bilingualism, is skeptical and notes others who are doubtful. Coombs, op. cit. supra note 256, at 60-64, 119. See also Brewer, op. cit. supra note 173, at 55-60.

259/ Coombs, Id. at 64-76; Brewer, Id. at 36-46.

and withdrawal. 260/ Without belaboring the issue, educators had--and have--strong opinions but can at this point show, at best, that native language instruction is only one of the elements in educational achievement.

But there is another way to look at the facts and interpret the historical aspects which we have related here and that is that the issue is indeed a political one. Whether instruction is in English or the native language makes little or no difference; rather what is important are the opportunities that are thought available to the ethnic group by members of the group themselves.

Educators have provided the most significant evidence to demonstrate this. Increasingly, they have studied the relationship between a pupil's motivation and performance in school to his perception of the society around him and the opportunities he believes that await him there. As evidence of this mounts, the importance of native language instruction as an educational tool linking home and school--but not society and school--diminishes.

> However, the crucial factor is not the relationship between home and school, but between the minority group and the local society. Future reward in the form of acceptable occupational and social status keeps children in school. Thus, factors such as whether a community is socially open or closed, caste-like or not, discriminatory or not, has restricted or nonrestricted roles and statuses for its minority-group segment, become as important as the nature of the

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260/ Brewer, Id. at 18-25.

curriculum or other factors in the school itself, or perhaps more important. 261/

Similarly, analysis of the causes of Indian failure in schools has increasingly focused on isolation, alienation, limited opportunity in the society at large 262/ and other factors which indicate that broader concerns than teaching method or technique are involved.

Educators who have pressed for TESOL or bilingual education have frequently tended to minimize these factors. Thus, race and color discrimination are rarely mentioned. 263/ and the educational experience of other minorities with other than language problems (the Japanese-Americans and German-Americans mentioned earlier) are not brought to bear. The United States Civil Rights Commission has studied the effects of school segregation on both the Black and Mexican-American

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261/ Carter, op. cit. supra. note 256, at 144.

262/ Brewer, op. cit. supra note 173, at 31.

263/ E.g., N.E.A., supra note 147, overlooks the importance of the color issue. For example, the letter of a thirteen-year-old Mexican-American girl, which opens the report, says "my dark skin always makes me feel that I will fail." Id. at 3. Yet the survey never mentions color at all, but treats the cultural and language difference as if it alone were the problem.

American population 264/and, while analogies may be all too facile, the failure in much of the literature to note any similarities at all is surely a serious error.

Following this line of argument it should be of no surprise, although the literature does not make much of this, that Texas--which in general has been more restrictive with respect to Mexican-Americans and where school segregation of Mexican-Americans is more severe than in either California or New Mexico 265/--has also a worse record in education than these states. 266/

The requirement of instruction in the English language, then, is a symbol of a broader societal discrimination which can usually be found in segregation and in limitations on employment opportunities. Confining ourselves to the English-language-instruction requirement, the issue is not whether the native tongue is used as the language of instruction or not, but only whether English is the required language of

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264/ U. S. Civil Rights Commission, Racial Isolation in the Public Schools (1967) and U. S. Civil Rights Commission, Reports I & II, Mexican-American Education Study (1970-71).

265/ U. S. Comm. on Civil Rights, op. cit. supra note 159, at 22.

266/ Carter, op. cit. supra note 256, at 22-25.

instruction. If English is not required or not imposed it becomes one more symbol of tolerance and openness, one more way in which society is stating that the natural development of the minority group involved is acceptable and appropriate and should be permitted. What language is to be chosen should be decided by the local community. The results will likely not make much difference as long as it accurately reflects the instincts and desires of the parents so that they feel that the opportunity for their child is maximized.

The United States, at both the Federal and state level, as we have seen, in balancing the unifying effect of English with the harmonizing benefits of native language retention has consistenly favored English. Even where the group was relatively small and the accommodation to be made was relatively short-term in character (one or two generations at most), the force of official sanction was used to impose English-language instruction and to limit native-language instruction. Whatever the benefits of such a policy were its necessarily concomitant discriminations have left a bitter legacy. At this time the government has realized and should continue to do so that the option of native language instruction should also be made available to be exercised as desired by local communities. The Federal system needs the sense of harmony, cultural equality, and devotion which such an option engenders.